

BACONIANA

EDITED BY FRANCIS J. SCHULTE.



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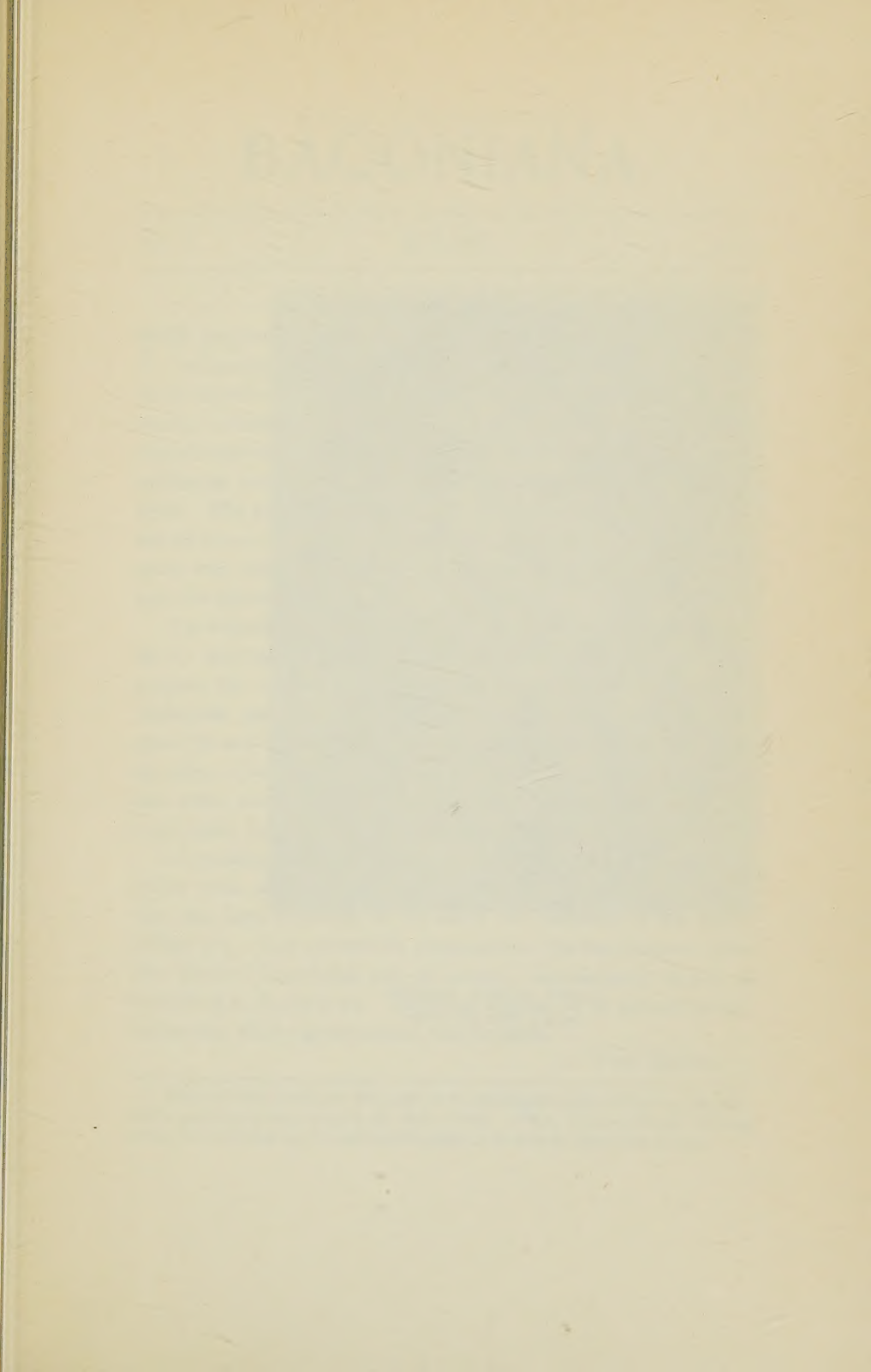
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LADY ANNE BACON.

(FROM A RARE OLD PRINT.)

BACONIANA.

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No. 1.

PROSPECTUS.

THE purpose of this magazine will be to aid in the study of the acknowledged writings of Francis Bacon and the investigation of his supposed authorship of certain works not publicly acknowledged, including the Shakespeare plays and poems. Among its contributors will be the leading Baconians of both hemispheres, and prominent writers on both sides of the Bacon-Shakspeare controversy. The advocates of the Bacon theory are still in the minority, but for once in the world's history a minority will be tolerant, and those who uphold the claims of William Shakspeare will have full and free access to these pages.

It is intended to make BACONIANA a magazine of general interest by making its scope as broad and comprehensive as its main purpose will allow. Francis Bacon, the philosopher, poet, philanthropist, statesman, lawyer; his character and genius; his personal life and history; his contemporaries, literary and historical; the effect of his own works and of his age on posterity—all of these and other kindred topics, discussed fairly and sincerely, will, we hope, make BACONIANA a publication of value to scholars.

All students of the writings of Francis Bacon, or of the immortal works which are known as the "Shakespeare" Plays, as well as all who may have something to say about the literature of the Elizabethan era,—that remarkable culmination of the Renaissance—the New Birth of Knowledge and of Letters,—are earnestly invited to contribute to BACONIANA. Anything original or of interest in this connection will be given careful consideration.

THE EDITOR.

When reference is made in these pages to the Shakespeare plays and poems, the name will be spelled as it was printed in the Folio of 1623. When, however, the man William Shakspeare is referred to, the name will be spelled as he himself signed it to his will.

FRANCIS BACON'S STYLE.

HOW do you describe or discriminate the style of Bacon? Is it possible to distinguish his writings from those of any author of his time by means of their style alone? And what is his style?

These and similar questions are not infrequently asked, and they certainly ought to be answered, for it is becoming more and more certain that we are soon to claim for Bacon the authorship of many works "put forth," "produced," "published" and "fathered" under other names than his. Yet no distinct, satisfactory answer has come to such inquiries.

Bacon's style has been described as "clear," "precise," "pithy," "terse," "ponderous," "learned," "dry," "rich," "imaginative," "poetic," "noble." I could pile up these epithets until you were weary of reading them. I could make each contradict another, but of what use would all this be? No finer criticism of his style or manner of writing could be penned than that of Macaulay, and many other authors have given their various opinions on the same subject. But all said, and all read, do any of these criticisms help us to identify the style of our great master, so that, meeting with a piece of his work, we are able, without hesitation, to declare: "This is Bacon's—we know it by his style"?

And what can be more different in that which we have learned to call *style*—the characteristic manner of expression and diction—than many of the works, or fragments of works, which we know to be Bacon's? Macaulay was fully alive to this great disparity even among the essays, and he attributes it to the difference of age of the author. Always old in judgment and understanding, the *young* man is more peremptory, dogmatic, and consequently prosaic, than the same man mellowed by age, with the accumulated stores of knowledge to sweeten his imagination, and to furnish him with similes, metaphors and axioms drawn from the center of the sciences.

We see in the essays, and, indeed, in the various editions of all his other works, increasing richness in diction, greater depth of feeling, more poetic expression, as years roll by, and as wisdom and the continued working within the author of noble and "heroic" thoughts do their spiriting gently.

Yet after all, if I may judge of the experience of others by my own, we do not feel greatly enlightened as to the particular point in question by any commentaries, hand-books or criticisms which have

been written about Bacon and his style. Quite apart from the discrepancies discussed by Macaulay, upon what general principles does any one propose to harmonize the "styles" of those very essays with the *Novum Organum*? or of the *New Atlantis* with the *Order of the Helmet*, or *The Conference of Pleasure*? or these again with the *Tracts of the Law*, or with the beautiful verses *Life's a Bubble*, or yet again *The Praise of the Queen* with the too-much despised *Translations of Certain Psalms*, *The History of Winds*, or of *Salt, Sulphur and Mercury*?

The only general ground upon which these and many other unlike styles in Bacon's works are to be accounted for, is that pointed out by Bacon himself, when he declared that the *matter* of any piece of writing should determine the style; in short, that a man should use whatsoever style or manner of speech may best suit the subject to be treated of.

No doubt we should all like to be able to do as Bacon airily suggests, and write upon every subject with equal facility, and in the manner most agreeable to our theme; but who is it that says: "*Le style c'est l'homme*"? Words are *images of thoughts*; and we poor commonplace writers can only write on the few subjects of which we understand something, and with a style limited by our little knowledge and great commonplaceness.

Bacon was hampered by none of our clogs and drawbacks. He had, we know, nothing ready to his hand in the way of dictionaries, books of reference, no *Thesaurus* of words and phrases, and our language before his time was very poor; but what was that to him, who had a dictionary and "a mint of phrases in his brain," and who made, as he said, a grammar for himself? His thoughts were very clear-cut, very brilliant, and the words flew to meet them. You will see for yourselves, when you look into the matter, how these things were. But up to this point we seem to be as far as ever from reaching our aim—namely, to be able, by sure and indubitable signs, to distinguish the style of Bacon, so that we need scarcely ever hesitate (excepting, perhaps, in a business document or formal letter) to put a finger on a given page and declare that this is or is not Bacon's writing.

Then are we to give it up as hopeless? Surely not. Since we cannot come to any satisfactory conclusion by arguing only upon what Bacon calls "*generals*," let us leave these and come to particulars.

The smallest particulars which we have to consider in the pres-

ent case are the *words*, the vehicle of thought; therefore let us look a little into Bacon's vocabulary. Here we are met by a great difficulty. For Bacon found our language poor and empty, deficient in every kind of ornament, totally inadequate to the exposition of his lofty and complete theories, his vigorous arguments and reasoning, his subtle and imaginative ideas. He left this English of ours rich, full, and furnished at all points, a noble model of language, such as he desired to construct by selecting materials from the best of other nations.

What, then, was old, what new? Which words did Bacon import from abroad? Which did he adapt from the Latin and other tongues? Which did he coin in his private mint?

These are far-reaching questions, and they can only be absolutely settled after we have ascertained how many of the works at present ascribed to various authors are truly Bacon's. *It was he who filled up all numbers and did that to which the works of Greece and Rome cannot compare.* Ben Jonson says so, and we are therefore prepared to find a multitude of unrecognized works. Meanwhile there is an excellent concordance to *Shakespeare*, and thereby we may to a great extent gather in what particulars and to what extent the philosopher and the poet differ in their vocabulary.

More than once since I made such matters my study, I have been told by eminent philologists that the difference in "style" between the works of Bacon and *Shakespeare* is so tremendous as to prohibit the possibility of their being produced by the same author. I have asked: Does this observation apply to the vocabulary? and the reply has been: "Yes, assuredly; the vocabulary plays a very important part in the style of any writer." Then I have said: You consider that the vocabulary, the actual *words* used by Bacon, are so manifestly different from those used by *Shakespeare* as necessarily to affect the whole style? Again the answer is: "Yes, certainly." And this, I believe, has been a very common or popular notion.

Now, this is what I have found to be the case in upward of one hundred and thirty chapters, letters, fragments and portions of various works which I have examined word by word, and compared with the *Shakespeare* concordance.

I exclude from the question proper names and absolute technicalities of science and words of learning, such as apogees and perigees, sublimate of mercury, pneumatics, convex lenses, logarithms, acroamatic, or exoteric, or magistral logic, terms which no

one would expect to meet with in the *Shakespeare* plays, and, on the other hand, I discard vulgarisms, oaths and colloquialisms, such as could not find place in scientific writings, or even in letters. The result, then, is that, taking from many pieces, of every two hundred words from the acknowledged works of Bacon there are three words *not* in *Shakespeare*; in *Shakespeare* there are, I think, fewer still which are not in Bacon.

Here I must insert a saving clause. It does not follow that the same part of a verb, the same form of an adjective or adverb, or even of some few nouns, may be precisely the same; but they are near enough to be regarded as close relations, husband and wife, or at least first cousins.

For instance, I find in the poetry *advantageable*, in the prose *dis-advantageable*, each once only. In the one *confinable*, *uncomprehensive*, *inexecrable*, *answerable*; in the other *unconfinable*, *comprehensive*, *execrable*, *unanswerable*. In the poetry *plantage*, in the prose *bosage*; both from the French, and neither repeated; and so with many other words, which, when rare or very exceptionable and peculiar, I have persuaded myself are the very coinage of Bacon's brain, and, when met with in unexpected places, are like the pebbles in the fairy tale, to act as hints or guides to the discovery of his works.

Analysis of his enormous vocabulary is beyond the scope of this paper; but I trust that nothing which I say will be taken for granted, but that readers will test this matter of "words, words, mere words." There are, however, other points more slippery of observation, which, once mastered, seem to afford a still more serviceable touchstone. I allude to the *habitual* words, pet phrases and turns of speech, of which hardly a page or passage in Bacon's writings is entirely barren. To begin with a few nouns:

Advantage.	Inquiry.	Nothing.
Aim.	Instance.	Observation.
Art.	Kind.	Occasion.
Cause.	Knowledge (some-	Order.
Character.	times plural).	Proportion.
Color.	Law.	Purpose.
Conclusion.	Man, " <i>A man who</i> ,"	Question.
Contrary.	etc.	Reason.
Defect, or Deficiency.	Matter.	Sum.
Effect.	Method.	Thing.
End.	Nature.	Time.
Form.	Note.	Truth.
Image.		

We see at once that these words are all intimately connected with Bacon's philosophical system, and with things uppermost in his mind. Every new sight or phenomenon, every fresh scrap of information or discovery of error, or popular delusion, set him thinking with Polonius :

" Now remains
That we find out *the cause of this effect*,
Or rather say, *the cause of this defect* ;
For *this effect defective comes by cause*."

In the *Aphorisms* at the beginning of the *Novum Organum*, Bacon says that *where the cause is not known, the effect cannot be produced*; for the *cause* in the process of contemplation is the *effect* in the working; and *the cause of nearly all defects* is that whilst we admire the noble faculties of the mind, we neglect to seek for its helps.¹ If you will be at the pains of examining the 350 cases or so in which *Shakespeare* uses the word " cause," you will, I am sure, be satisfied that the habit of tracing all events, all effects and defects, to their causes, is as confirmed in the Poet as in the Philosopher.

Then the *aim* and *end* of study, the *purpose* with which it was to be pursued, the *characters* to be written on the memory or employed as means of distinction and recognition; the *order* and *method* by which knowledge and wisdom are to be attained and stored up; the sum and conclusion of each argument or theory; the taking of *notes*, and collecting of *instances*, or examples, are brought before the eyes of our mind in looking at this short list of words. The *parts*, *observation*, *questioning* and *reasoning* faculties, necessary for inquiry into the *Forms of Things*; the true *characters* and *nature*, in *Laws of Nature*, which were in *time* destined to prove themselves one with the laws of God—*truth* in its noblest interpretation—all these great thoughts may be seen in embryo in less than three dozen words.

I suppose myself to be addressing " Baconian" students, those, I mean, who have at least read most of the works which they profess to discuss. It may be interesting to them if I add a few references to places in the plays where Bacon uses these very same master-words of his prose (even where he attaches to them a peculiar meaning) just in the same manner and 'connection:

¹ Bohn's translation of the *De Augmentis* shows the resemblance of Baconian and Shakespearean diction better than Spedding's more picked phrases. Being away from home, without my books, I am unable to quote from either volume.

"My thoughts aim at a further matter."—*3d Hen. VI.* iii. 2.
Othello, iii. 3, etc.

"Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and Truth's."—*Hen. VIII.* iii. 2.

"What is the end of study? Let me know."—*Love's Labor's Lost*, i. 1.

"These few precepts in thy memory
See thou character."—*Hamlet*, i. 3.

"There is a kind of character in thy life,
That to the observer doth thy history
Fully unfold."—*Measure for Measure*, i. 1.

Bacon's *Colors of Good and Evil* are seen in such passages as the following:

Nathaniel. As a certain father saith . . .

Holofernes. Tell me not of the father. *I do fear colorable colors.*
—*Love's Labor's Lost*, iv. 2.

"I must be unjust to Thurio under the color of commending him."—*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, iv. 1.

"My course,
. . . holds not color with the time, nor does
The course and required office
On my particular."—*All's Well that Ends Well*, ii. 5.

"A kind of confession . . . which your modesties have not craft enough to cover."—*Hamlet*, ii. 2, etc.

Then, as to "conclusions," the uses are many in the plays; some are almost too well known for repetition:

"I knew 'twould be a bald conclusion."—*Comedy of Errors*, ii. 2.

"The blood or baseness of our natures would conduct us to most preposterous conclusions."—*Othello*, i. 3. See also *Ib.* i. 1. (15).

"O most lame and impotent conclusion!"—*Ib.* ii. 1.

The best examples of "contraries" come, like many of the more remarkable expressions, from the later plays:

"No contraries hold more antipathy
Than I and such a knave."—*King Lear*, ii. 2.

Bacon's lucubrations upon "contraries" are, you will remember, much mixed up with reflections on *sympathies and antipathies*.

"Let piety and fear" (says Timon, in his imprecations on Athens),

"Religion to the gods, peace, justice, truth,
Domestic awe, night-rest, and neighborhood,
Instruction, manners, mysteries, and trades,
Degrees, observances, customs and laws
Decline to your confounding contraries,
And let confusion live!"—*Timon of Athens*, iv. 1.

And Gonsalo, picturing to his friends the Utopia which he would establish had he "the plantation of this isle," declares that "In the commonwealth, I would *by contraries* execute all things."¹ His system would have been admirably suited for the production of such a society as Timon desired might be the bane of Athens.

The word *form*, as used by Bacon, has been the subject of some learned discussion, and is evidently considered peculiar if not exceptional. It is concluded to signify the inherent properties of anything, its nature, or characteristic qualities. It does not, in the passages discussed, mean *shape or figure*. Now, in the early and late plays the same difference is found. In *Love's Labor's Lost* the word occurs in both senses:

"In what manner? *In manner and form* following . . . it is the manner of a man to speak to a woman; *for the form, in some form.*"² (For the sake of natural politeness, with some ceremony.) "A spirit full of *forms*, figures, shapes, objects," etc.³ "Love is, . . . like the eye, full of strange shapes, of habits, and of *forms varying* in subjects."

In this last sentence, after mentioning shapes and habits (dresses or disguises), the poet would not return to *shapes*—at least so it seems to me—he seems to be using *form* in the sense of *nature*, characteristic or kind. But we get nearer to the sense of *character* or *nature* in *Troilus and Cressida*, where Agamemnon says: "We'll put on a *form of strangeness.*"⁴ This seems very like Hamlet's "*assume a virtue*, if you have it not," feign (or disguise yourself) *a nature or character* which is not your own; he seems to be alluding to the varying *habits* of which love or the spirit of a man is in *Love's Labor's Lost* said to be full.

Again, when Thersites racks his brain for insulting epithets to fling at Menelaus, we see that it is the *nature*, or characteristic qualities of the man, for which he would find parallels. After several contemptuous expressions ending with "a thrifty shoeing-horn in a chain, hanging at his brother's leg," he is still dissatisfied with his own powers of vituperation.

"To what *form* but that he is, should wit larded with malice, and malice farced with wit, turn him to? To an ass were nothing: he is both ass and ox; to an ox were nothing: he is both ox and ass. To be a dog, a mule, a cat, a fitchew, a toad, a lizard, an owl, a puttock, or a herring without a roe, I would not care; but to be Menelaus—I would conspire against destiny."

¹ *Tempest*.

² *I. 2.*

³ *Ib. iv. 2.*

⁴ *Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 3.

Certainly here it is not the shape of Menelaus, but his *inherent nature*, which is so obnoxious to the irritable cynic, and Hamlet's description of his father's picture, "a combination and a *form*,

"Where every god did set his seal,
To give the world assurance of a man."

seems again to point to the *nature* of the man and not merely to his figure, and the same, I think, in other places where this word is used.

The next word on the list, *instance*, is also a kind of key-note to one part of Bacon's method. Every point of doctrine or teaching should, he says, be illustrated by examples or *instances*. I cannot find that the word was common until he adopted it. But here it is in *Shakespeare*.

We all remember the Justice with his "wise saws and modern *instances*;"¹ then have Touchstone to the shepherd, who says that "courtesy would be uncleanly if the courtiers were shepherds." "*Instance*, briefly," says Touchstone; "come, *instance*," and when an illustration is given by the shepherd, Touchstone answers: "Shallow, shallow; *a better instance*, I say; come." The shepherd tries again without success, and is again required to "*mend the instance*."

This word is sometimes apparently almost synonymous both in the prose and plays with *evidence* or *witness*. As where Troilus exclaims that

"the spacious breadth of this division
Admits no orifice for a point as subtle
As Arachne's broken woof to enter.
Instance, O *instance*! strong as Pluto's gates;
Instance, O *instance*! strong as Heaven itself."²

But I must hurry on, and will compress into columns a few verbs, and many more adjectives, adverbs and adverbial phrases. You may observe that in the list of nouns I have omitted nearly all of the immense army of words which are used figuratively, and brought forward, "not single spies, but in battalions." I do the same with the verbs, since nearly the whole of Bacon's language is interspersed with such expressions as to *beget* doubts, *breed* suspicions, *awaken* animosity, *lull* men into security, *nourish* sciences, *remedy* diseases in learning, *cure* disorders; *aim*, *level* at, *hunt* after the truths of things; *frame*, *build up*, *erect* philosophy or science; *furnish* the mind, *sift* truth from error, *call upon* antiquity, *win*

¹ As *You Like It*, ii. 7.

² *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 2.

belief, *tune* the affections, *plant* religion, *water* knowledge, *woo* and *win* truth, and so forth, *ad infinitum*.

The residue of verbs habitually or peculiarly used by Bacon, when all figurative language is taken out, is very small:

To conclude. I conclude. Let it be concluded, etc.

To confess.

To consider.

To define.

To distinguish.

To feign, "*The poets feign.*"

To follow. It follows that, etc.

To grant. I grant some truth in this. Let it be granted, etc.

To incur.

To inquire. Let it be inquired.

To infer.

To insinuate.

To intend.

To make much ado.

To matter. It matters not.

To mean. I mean, etc.

To note. Let it be noted, etc.

To profess.

To protest.

To question.

To relate. They relate, etc.

To report. It is reported.

The phrases, "They say," or "It is said," "I have heard say," etc., are also among Bacon's turns of speech which, in accordance with his own directions for writing or speaking, provide means of honorable retreat in cases where statements are doubtful or to be set forth with caution.

There are also many verbs formed from nouns and adjectives, such as to brazen, to beggar, to dead, to dull, to dog, to horse, to malice, to motion, to lord, to queen, to stomach, to foot, to pen, and so forth.

Now for the adjectives, which may be taken together with the adverbs and adverbial phrases.

A kind of (this is another protective phrase to be found hundreds of times in Bacon and *Shakespeare*).

Absolute. An absolute monarch, etc.

All in all. "Take him all in all"—*Henry VII*.

- Amiss.* It may not be amiss, etc.
- Apt.* Aptness very frequent, with the negatives unapt, etc.
- As for.*
- As if.*
- As is,* often the case, etc.
- As it were.*
- By reason of.*
- Certain, certainly.* Of a certainty. It is certain, etc.
- Colorable.*
- Contrariwise,* on the contrary.
- Corporeal,* or incorporeal.
- Deformed.* Manners, etc.
- Empty.* Words, minds, etc.
- Excellent, excellently, excelling.* The latter word expresses the old sense.
- Exquisite.* Sympathies, etc.
- Fit, fitly, fitness.* Unfit, etc. Equally habitual in prose and poetry.
- Forth.* So far forth.
- General, generally, generalities,* etc.
- Idle.* For vain, foolish, etc.
- If. If it be.* If it were, etc.
- Lame, lamely.* Of works, writings, etc.
- Less.* No less. The latter is a *Promus* note.
- Manifest, manifestly.*
- Mean, meantime.* "In the meantime"—*Promus*.
- Mere, merely.*
- Monied man,* etc.
- Nay.* As the beginning or continuation of a sentence, not as a negative.
- Nothing unless.*
- Not unlike, or not like.* The former in *Promus*.
- Neither,* as the beginning of a sentence.
- No, not,* etc.
- Notable, notably.*
- Peradventure.* *Promus*.
- Perpetual, perpetually.*
- Poor,* of abilities, learning, etc.
- Pregnant,* words, etc.
- Proper, properly.* "A proper man"—*Promus*.
- Questionable.* A matter in question.

Rather, the rather.

Reasonable, reasonably, unreasonable, etc

Real, really, Promus.

Round, roundly for plainly.

Seasonable-ly-ness, unseasonable, etc.

Sole, solely.

Stiff, stiffly.

Stout, stoutly. A stout ring.

Strange-ly-ness. It is strange. "I think it strange"—*Promus.*

Sure, surely.

True, truly, in truth, etc.

Unquestionably, etc.

Utter-ly.

Vast.

Wholesome. A wholesome method.

Certain adjectives are found with Bacon to run in double harness, and it is the same with the nouns—thus: Flat and dull, dull and dead, flat and dead, vain and idle, vain and empty, vain and fantastic, aim and level, etc. But more often words are coupled (so it seems) in order that the elder word may bring in the little shy new word by the hand. The new word is sometimes pushed in first; at other times the old word speaks for or interprets it; or, when both are newly introduced into polite society, they seem to support and comfort each other—"aid and assist," "base and ignoble," "an ambiguous or double use," "advice drier and purer," "divulged and spread abroad," "extirpated and abolished," "infused and drenched," "piercing and corrosive," "sad and pensive," "renovation and restoration," "unravel and distinguish," "vecture or carriage," "witty and sharp," "talk and discourse," "common and popular," "fire and combustion," and so forth.

Then there are the *antitheta*. We see how Bacon prepared himself for these from his youth, and some of his antithetical he publishes in his last work, not only because he still thinks them good, but (so I believe) in order to draw attention to this very marked characteristic of his mind and consequently of his style. Since he was capable of *thinking* all round a subject, mentally seeing all its aspects, he was capable of treating the same subject in many different ways and of expressing the opposite opinions on both sides of the question. The majority of these antitheta are combined with metaphors, and they will start up under your eyes at almost every turn of the page: Good, evil; rich, poor; dark, light; fair,

foul; disease, remedy; substance, shadow, etc. "A little *poor* in admiring *riches*." "Her *flame extinguished*, and her *fame lit up* in death."

Already this paper is too long and the subject hardly broached, yet if any care to make use of these hints and hear more, I will hope to pick up the threads and spin another yarn in a future number.

CONSTANCE M. POTT.

CERTAIN FRIENDS OF THE BACONIANS.

IN a careful search throughout the writings of the luminaries of English literature, especially since the revival of enlightened criticism in the past one hundred years, numerous expressions of opinion, doubtless, could be found affecting the Shakspeare-Bacon controversy, not heretofore made the subjects of special comment.

Those which are instanced in this article appear of special value, contributed to the discussion as they are by names which, of themselves, constitute landmarks in the literary field.

There is Jeffrey, gifted with a judicial mind. There is Hallam, the historian of literature. There is Bulwer, himself a poet, and the possessor of acknowledged powers of observation and analysis.

Jeffrey, Hallam, Bulwer: a triumvirate to whom might well be intrusted the destiny of the republic of letters!

Jeffrey's testimony to the brilliancy of Bacon's star is peculiar. It occurs just where it should fittingly be found, in his justly admired article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the progress of English literature. In this extraordinary article, three times (the sacred number) does he mention the name of Bacon, in the first two instances the mention being in connection with Shakespeare, in the last without him. The first, after the expression of his opinion that the stars of Pope, Swift and Addison had lost a portion of their original brilliancy, holds this language: "Neither is it time alone that has wrought this obscurity; for the fame of Shakespeare still shines in undecaying brightness, and that of Bacon has been steadily advancing and gathering new honors during the whole period which has witnessed the rise and decline of his less vigorous successors."

In his second mention he expresses the opinion that the writers whose supremacy held for a time have been eclipsed by writers of our own day, and he gives voice to his surprise that, for nearly a century, writers of sense and polish, but not of genius, should have maintained themselves at the head of a literature which had produced "a Shakespeare, a Spenser, a Bacon, and a Taylor."

The third mention is in connection with the name of Hume, who, although "by far the most considerable" in the period in which he wrote, he finds had a French, rather than an English, style, and a cold fancy, and possessed nothing of that eloquence and richness which characterize the writings of Taylor, and Hooker, and Bacon.

Hallam, in his great work on the literature of Europe, takes occasion to declare his disappointment at the almost utter blank which confronts every explorer into the question of the personality of Shakespeare. He intimates, in a note to a later edition, that for this remark he has been scolded by the Shakspearean devotees, and takes occasion to say that he adheres to his remark, and intimates that the scoldings have only confirmed him in his opinions, and in his doubts, and that he is still in search of "the man who wrote *Lear*."

Bulwer, in the introduction to his *Zanoni*, says that "people make the adoration of Shakespeare the excuse for attacking everybody else," and in the same connection intimates that the characteristic realism of the dramas suggests as their author a mind of wide information and a gift for the faithful limning of historical portraits.

We may ask, after these intimations from these great authors, what, if interrogated, if desired to give fuller expression to their meanings, would be their further outgivings.

Let us see.

"Why is it, Jeffrey, that in your *résumé* of the relative values of literary names, you never mention Shakespeare but in connection with Bacon?"

"I incline to the opinion that Bacon was as great a light as Shakespeare, or even a greater."

"Was your threefold mention of Bacon accidental or intentional?"

"It was intentional. His is the greatest name in our literature, and I gave it, *ex industria*, the benefit of the classic number, the trinity of ancient and modern poetic and religious dispensations."

"Why did you leave Shakespeare's name out of one of the mentions?"

"Because I designed to do peculiar honor to Bacon."

"You speak of new honors coming to Bacon? What of these?"

"Bacon has heretofore been known as an essayist and a natural philosopher. He is beginning to be recognized as a profound moral philosopher, of extraordinary insight into character and the bearings of history."

"Do you think that he had anything to do with the preparation of the dramas attributed to Shakespeare?"

"The question lacks development, lacks light, but we should remember that Bacon's mind was one of infinite grasp and versatility. Literature and taste are progressive. They advance and improve with time and experience."

The interrogatories addressed to Hallam might run in this wise:

"Hallam, why do you adhere so persistently, in repeated editions, to the declaration that nothing is known of Shakespeare, except that he was an indifferent player, without personal literary relics or traditions, and of low morals?"

"Because this fact has very frequently impressed me. I cannot imagine it as usual or natural that the author of such productions should have so contemptible a personality."

"How do you account, then, for the plays—their origin?"

"He must have had a collaborator or collaborators."

"Do you think Bacon's hand is seen herein?"

"I think, as I have said elsewhere, that Bacon is eminently the philosopher of human nature and of civil and political wisdom."

"Would your mind yield to proof that Bacon was the man who wrote *Lear*?"

"Yes; willingly."

Let us turn now to the honored shade of Lord Lytton.

"Your lordship does not think, then, that a blind idolatry of Shakespeare should justify violent denunciations of others not inclined to such idolatry?"

"No. You may have observed that an unreasoning devotion is apt to betray its entertainers into excessive violence. It is the wild devotion of religious zealots which makes religious wars so bloody."

"Why do you doubt the justice of this unreasoning devotion to Shakespeare?"

"Passion and party spirit are always more violent in the absence of facts and arguments."

"Have you given attention to what is called the Baconian theory?"

"Only slight. I am prepared to think, however, that Bacon was capable of any achievement."

And these great shades, having thus announced, from their assured elysium, their opinions, we may be safe in supposing that, with their rare equipment of intellect and learning, they would abide by such opinions, and not abandon them; and that they would

all the closer abide by them if summoned to their abandonment by assertion and ribaldry, forces to which have succumbed certain of their literary successors.

JOHN A. WILSTACH.

SUNSHINE EVERYWHERE.

ONE of Bacon's frequently recurring axioms is to the effect that philosophy or knowledge must be like sunshine, which visits sewers and dunghills as well as palaces, but it is not thereby defiled. So the student of nature or the governor of men must know evil as well as good. Only by those who are conversant with evil arts can evil be combated.

Thus, in the *Novum Organum*, i. 120, Bacon vindicates for science the right, and duty, to investigate even filthy things. "And for things that are mean, or even filthy—things which, as Pliny says, must be introduced with an apology—such things, no less than the most splendid and costly, must be admitted into natural history. Nor is natural history polluted thereby. For the sun enters the sewer no less than the palace, yet takes no pollution. . . . Moreover, as from certain putrid substances—musk, for instance, and civet—the sweetest odors are sometimes generated, so, too, from mean and sordid instances there sometimes emanates excellent light and information. But enough, and more than enough of this, such fastidiousness being merely childish and effeminate."

Again, as to the practical necessity for those who enter into human affairs to know the evil arts of bad men, as well as the pure arts of good men, in the third of the *Meditationes Sacre* this same principle is well expounded. "For men," he says, "of corrupt understanding, that have lost all sound discerning of good and evil, come possessed with this prejudicate opinion, that they think all honesty and goodness proceedeth out of a simplicity of manners, and a kind of want of experience and acquaintance with the affairs of the world." Therefore he infers that those who aspire to a "fructifying and begetting goodness, which shall draw on others," should know "the depths of Satan,"—should be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." "There are," he adds, "neither teeth, nor stings, nor venom, nor wreaths and folds of serpents which ought not to be known, and, as far as examination doth lead, tried. Neither let any man here fear infection or pollution; for the sun entereth into sinks and is not defiled."

Thus it is evident that the maxim that knowledge should be universal is always coupled in Bacon's mind with the universality of sunshine, which is equally pure whether it lights on sweetness or carrion.

These ideas are clearly reflected in Shakespeare. Thus, the axiom that everything must be a subject of knowledge, evil as well as good, is used in justification of the wild young Prince Hal, who associates with low companions for this very laudable purpose:

"The prince but studies his companions
Like a strange tongue, wherein to gain the language;
'Tis needful that the most immodest word
Be look'd upon and learn'd; which, once attained,
Your highness knows, comes to no further use,
But to be known and hated."—*2 Hen. IV.*, iv. 4 (70).

The universality of sunshine is variously alluded to. For instance, Henry V., when in camp at Agincourt, visits and talks to the rank and file of his army, as well as the nobles and officers:

"A largess universal, like the sun,
His liberal eye doth give to every one."
—*Hen. IV.*, iv. prol. (43).

The sun shining on a dunghill is humorously alluded to in *The Merry Wives*. Falstaff, flattering himself that Mistress Page looks favorably on him, says:

"Sometimes the beam of her view gilded my foot, sometimes my portly belly;"

and Pistol makes the saucy comment:

"Then did the sun on dunghill shine."

There is a very subtle allusion to Bacon's maxim, that knowledge, like sunshine, is universal, in the *Twelfth Night* (iii. 1, 43). Viola, speaking to the clown, says:

"I saw thee late at the Count Orsino's,"
and the clown replies to the maiden, disguised as a page:

"Foolery, sir, doth walk about the orb like the sun: it shines everywhere."

Implying that it is the privilege of a clown to make his comments on everything, and to visit palaces as well as cottages, and to moralize on or satirize trifles which graver persons would disdain to notice. The same freedom for the fool in his character of moralist is claimed in another play, and with different imagery:

"I must have liberty withal, as large a charter as the wind, to blow on whom I please; for so fools have."—*As You Like It*, ii. 7 (47).

The lost and unrecognized princess, Perdita, finds this same

maxim serve her in good stead when the King discovers that his son is her accepted lover, and threatens fierce vengeance on her and the family which has adopted her :

“I was not much afear’d ; for once or twice
I was about to speak, and tell him plainly
The self-same sun that shines upon his court
Hides not his visage from our cottage, but
Looks on alike.” — *Winter’s Tale*, iv. 4 (453).

R. M. THEOBALD.

COL. INGERSOLL CLEVERLY UNHORSED.

OF late, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll has been delivering, in several sections of the country, his notable lecture on Shakespeare.

There is nothing new in the various features which he presents, save his antithetical style and rhetoric, which are peculiarly his own. All of his essential points, however, have been satisfactorily answered again and again.

Here is one of them that is most effectually disposed of by Mr. George A. Bacon, of Washington, D. C., as the reader will acknowledge after digesting the following quotation and reply :

Col. Ingersoll says : “ If Shakespeare did not write his works (the plays, etc.), there is no evidence beneath the stars that Bacon did.” Bacon wrote, he says, “ Love is ever a matter of comedy and tragedy : it worketh mischief like a siren or a fury.” Our all-knowing friend declares, “ We know that the author of *Romeo and Juliet* never wrote that.” Indeed, how does he know it ?

If love was ever a matter of comedy and tragedy in the same connection, it is in this very play. Romeo’s recovery from his acute passion for the chaste and haughty Rosaline, under the influence of the famous prescription of his heart’s physician, Benvolio, is the very essence of the finest comedy ; and his career from the garden party to his death at Juliet’s tomb is heroic and tragic to the last degree. His first love, an extravagant, boyish passion, unrequited, made him the butt of ridicule ; his second, a case of true love at first sight, answered in like manner, made him the model lover of all literature. From the hour when he leaps the garden wall of the deadly Capulets, quells the mob, slays Tybalt and takes the sudden deadly poison at Juliet’s tomb, surely love is working in his veins as siren and fury alternately, as never elsewhere seen in all history.

Had the Colonel tried his best he could not have made a more fatal misfit, could not have been more unfortunate than in the cita-

tion of this particular play, for *Romeo and Juliet*, together with *Antony and Cleopatra*, were written expressly to illustrate the "mad excess of love," which acts *sometimes like a siren and sometimes like a fury*, dramatically evident.

THE SUGARED SONNETS.

"In truth I swear I wish not there should be
Graved in my epitaph a Poet's name."

IN the year 1609 a book appeared in England called "*Shakespeare's Sonnets*, never before imprinted." The word *Shake* and the suffix *speare* were hyphenated so as to distinguish the hyphenated words from the surname *Shakespeare*. Mr. William Shakspere, the reputed author of the Shakespeare plays, was living at that time, and he did not, either before or after the publication of the *Sonnets*, claim to be the maker, begetter or author of them or of any of them. He did not take them to the publisher; he did not enter the book in the register of the Stationers' Company; he did not dedicate them to any one; he did not even spell his name in the hyphenated way, as may be readily seen by an examination of his undoubted signatures to his last will, his deed and mortgage, and to the *Montaigne* of Florio. These signatures, as the world knows, are, after the most diligent search, the only writings of his extant. There is a copy of the plays in the possession of Mr. Gunther, of Chicago, with a signature supposed by him to be that of William Shakspere, but if a genuine signature, it will be seen, upon an examination of it, that there is no hyphen between the *Shake* and the *speare*.

There *was* a dedication, however, on a separate leaf, next to the title-page, in the following words:

To the onlie begetter of
These insuing sonnets,
Mr. W. H., all happinesse,
And that eternitie
Promised
by
Our ever-living Poet
Wisheth
The well-wishing
Adventurer in
Setting
forth.

T. T.

Manifestly, in spite of William Shakspeare's apathy or indifference and in spite of the distinguishing hyphen, there is a slight presumption in favor of William Shakspeare as the author of the sonnets. The similarity in name, while a very weak point in itself, is, nevertheless, presumptive evidence for him, which must be overcome, if it can be overcome at all, by substantial and reasonable proof to the contrary. Although Shakspeare never claimed that he wrote the sonnets, yet, on account of the similarity in name, and also for the reason that Francis Meres, in 1598, alluded to Shakespeare's "sugared sonnets among his private friends" in his *Palladis Tamia*, the weight of public opinion is now on the side of the claimants for Shakspeare.

But because of the very natural doubt arising from the failure of William Shakspeare to claim or acknowledge the sonnets, and because of the further important fact that the statements and references of the sonneteer do not coincide even in the slightest detail with the known incidents of Shakspeare's life, and because, also, as a learned writer well puts it, "while accepting the Meres mention as proof of the authorship of these sonnets, all commentators, living and dead, incontinently reject the Meres list of plays," it has come to pass within the last few years that some learned students of Elizabethan literature have set up the claims of other men to the honor of the authorship of these sonnets.

This is a step in the right direction, for if William Shakspeare, of New Place, did not write the sonnets, the world is interested in knowing who did, if such knowledge is attainable. An examination of the many books written on the subject of the supposed writer of the sonnets and of the explanations of their meaning set out in them (for the two must go together) discloses the names of the following reputed authors: Sir Walter Raleigh, Francis Bacon, Anthony Shirley and William Shakspeare.

The claim of Raleigh was vigorously and ingeniously advocated by the late William D. O'Connor in *Hamlet's Notebook*. That gifted and forcible writer thought that the author, as indicated by the words "Mr. W. H.," was Walter Raleigh, the W. being the initial letter of his Christian name and the H. the last letter of his surname; and he insisted or earnestly suggested that the adventurer T. T. (the first and last letters being similarly used) was the mathematician Thomas Hariot, who was Raleigh's fast friend and companion. Mr. O'Connor overlooked the fact that the person who subscribed the dedication was not a mysterious or concealed person at all, but a

bookseller of considerable eminence, named Thomas Thorpe, as clearly appears from the register of the Stationers' Company, where the entry of the book is found thus:

"20 May, 1609.

"Thomas Thorpe. A book called Shakespeare's Sonnets."

It is proper to say in behalf of Mr. O'Connor that, burdened as he was in the Life-saving Service with arduous governmental duties, and oppressed also with the pain and weariness incident to a lingering disease, he had not at his command, as he himself states, "the means and leisure necessary to establish these assertions beyond cavil, and to spread open the meaning of the sonnets." His chief mistake lies in his construction of the sonnets as being principally connected with the personification of a divine purpose. He is right in supposing that the author loved outward adornment, that he was poor, and that he knew the noble and ardent Giordano Bruno; but he fails to explain the meaning of the seventh line in the twentieth sonnet, which has puzzled all the commentators:

"A man in hue, all hues in his controlling."

If the meaning of that line can be intelligibly explained, as well as the meaning of the following words in the seventy-sixth sonnet, the mystery of authorship will then be solved and the riddle propounded by the concealed writer clearly read. The lines which, when properly understood, disclose the author, read thus:

"Why write I still all one, ever the same,
And keep invention in a noted weed,
That every word doth almost tell my name,
Showing their birth, and where they did proceed?"

Now, Sir Walter Raleigh was not poor. He was a money-maker, sometimes fairly, and occasionally unfairly, but always a money-getter and a money-saver; and when it was possible he was a land-grabber. He had no friend whom Mr. O'Connor could name to fit the statements of the first twenty-six sonnets, and there are no words anywhere in the whole course of the one hundred and fifty-four sonnets which will, to use the poet's language, either almost or altogether tell Raleigh's name. In addition to these chief clues, which Mr. O'Connor has neglected to follow, or which have puzzled him, as they have all other commentators, Raleigh's style does not correspond at all with that of the writer of the sonnets. Raleigh was vigorous and direct. His style was solid, stately and epigrammatic. His poetry, as Dr. Hannah well states it, bears a distinct witness to

the features of his marked yet varied character, to his vigor, his scorn and his haughty directness. Here is a brief example of it :

"Fain would I, but I dare not; I dare, and yet I may not.
I may, although I care not, for pleasure when I play not."

A much more plausible, and, indeed, a very strong argument, has been made in favor of Francis Bacon, by William H. Burr, of Washington, D. C., as an appendix to his *Proof that Shakespeare Could not Write*. The argument is entitled: *The Sonnets of Shakespeare Written by Francis Bacon to the Earl of Essex and His Bride, A. D. 1590*. Mr. Burr has undoubtedly done more to call the attention of the readers of the so-called Shakespeare plays to the ignorance of William Shakspeare, as exhibited when he was forty-nine years old, in his signatures to a mortgage and a deed, and three years later to the three sheets of his last will, by an exact reproduction of them in *fac-simile*, than a thousand writers and essayists could do, however brilliant and learned, for these signatures are unanswerable arguments against the learning of William Shakspeare. Indeed, the general circulation of these *fac-similes* would open the eyes of the reading public as to the capabilities of William Shakspeare in the line of penmanship. It may be true that he never blotted a line, for these signatures indicate that he never wrote one without much ado, if at all. But, like all the other commentators upon the sonnets, Mr. Burr fails to connect Bacon with the particular sonnets which indubitably furnish, if rightly interpreted, a correct solution of the authorship. And both he and Mr. O'Connor fail to account for the declaration of the writer, in the 136th sonnet, that his name was Will :

"Make but my name thy love, and love that still,
And then thou lov'st me — for my name is Will."

Mr. Burr says that no fact has been found incompatible with Bacon's authorship of the sonnets; but the issue here is not the question of incompatibility merely. It is rather a positive than a negative place that the proponent of any man's claim to the authorship of the sonnets must occupy. The author's life and associates, male and female, his position in society, his name as he gives it in the poems, his style and manner must all fit. There is nothing in all the range of Elizabethan literature to show that Francis Bacon was ever called "Will" or "Willy" or that he was in love with Frances Sidney, whom Essex married, or with any one else except Lady Hatton.

Another writer names Anthony Shirley as the author of the son-

nets, and he bases his claim upon the reference in sonnets 76, 105, 135 and 136 to the words "one" and "all one" as if they pointed to the ancient seal of the Ferrees family, which contained the arms of the family upon a chimney-piece with the motto "Only One."

The sole merit in the argument is that the writer has grasped at one of the conceits of the author of the sonnets, but has failed to fathom his meaning. Beyond this conceit, no valid argument is adduced in support of Anthony Sherley's name.

But did not William Shakspeare write the sonnets? They almost bear his name. There were certain sonnets circulated in society in England before 1598 which were called Shakespeare's sonnets, according to Meres, and Shakspeare was named William, which could be properly abbreviated to Will or Willy, and just here the resemblance stops. To show that he did not write the sonnets, it is not necessary to assert that he was an ignorant man, scarcely able to write his name; that he was the son of John Shakspeare, who could not write his name, and the father of Judith Quincey, who could not write her name; that he had no books, no manuscripts, no letters, no literary friends, no education in college or university, or such even as travel gives, except the very little education which he got at an early age in the Stratford free school, or some child's school in that town; that he is not mentioned in Henslow's diary, or that his last will, while it minutely specifies his wearing apparel, his chattels and leases, and that famous second-best bed which he bequeathed to his wife, makes no mention of any literary works of his, either printed or in manuscript.

Upon the face of the sonnets themselves appears plainly the evidence that Shakspeare did not write them.

It is a clear and irrefragible proposition that where a person of sound mind, who has reasonable facilities for knowing what is going on in the literary world around him, permits book publishers to impose on the public by appending his name to books which he did not write, there must be a strong resemblance between such a person's style and manner, his life and surroundings, and the style and statements of the book, to entitle him to the credit of the authorship of a book which he never claimed. Now a book called *The Passionate Pilgrim* so appeared, purporting to be by William Shakespeare, and Doctor Heywood, an author, whose verses were published in it, publicly printed a protest against the implied Shakspeare assumption of authorship, and compelled Jaggard, the printer, to take the name "William Shakespeare" from the title page. Richard Grant White says that "no explanation of this proceeding on Shakspeare's

part is known to exist." Besides, according to Appleton Morgan, who never hesitates to give facts in preference to guesses, there were fifteen plays, which even commentators admit that William Shakspeare did not write, that during Shakspeare's life traveled under his name; and he quietly permitted the public to be so imposed on. He never, at any time, assailed these literary impostors with any general or special denial. Indeed, he often permitted his name to be used to float books which he never wrote.

But to the proof. The first twenty-six sonnets undoubtedly refer, or profess to refer, to a friend of the sonneteer; and the friend is earnestly begged and persuaded to marry. The friend was beautiful; he was young; he had a beautiful mother; he was "a man in hue, all hues in his controlling," whatever that may mean; and he was very much beloved by the poet.

Now, no admirer of Shakspeare can point to any such friend of his who was as described in these twenty-six sonnets, and whose name or description would correspond with the punning description in sonnet 20. Mr. Tyler, who, with the aid of the Rev. W. A. Harrison, issued a carefully prepared and annotated edition of the sonnets in 1890, has attempted to bridge over these difficulties by calling the friend "Mr. W. H." He is inclined to think that William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was addressed by these initials. If he was so meant, why was he called plain Mr. by the bookseller? Then, again, how is the Earl to be identified as "a man in hue, all hues in his controlling"? Mr. Tyler could not, and cannot, explain that. Then he and all the other believers in Shakspeare's authorship of the sonnets have to wrestle, and wrestle very hard, too, with what he describes as the amatory relations of William Herbert and William Shakspeare with a woman whom he calls the dark lady. He jumps at the conclusion that the woman alluded to in the 127th and 132d sonnets was Mrs. Mary Fitton, who was one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honor; and he suggests that, on Shakspeare's company performing at court, Mrs. Fitton may have become interested in him and introduced herself to him. From this guess it is not hard to jump at another guess, equally absurd, that Shakspeare and the Earl quarreled about her.

Here are five guesses, every one of which is either absurd, improbable or unsupported by any contemporary evidence:

1. That William Herbert was Mr. W. H.
2. That Mrs. Fitton was the black-eyed lady.
3. That Shakspeare performed before Queen Elizabeth.

4. That Mrs. Fitton thrust herself upon his acquaintance.

5. That Shakspeare ever quarreled with William Herbert about her, or that he ever knew him.

The chief difficulty in the Shakspeare theory is that it is impossible to explain or show that his name appears in the seventy-sixth sonnet, or any word standing for or typifying his name, or how "every word does almost tell my name." It is very apparent that the writer means that in almost every sonnet his name, or a word which stands for his name, appears. But the word "Shakespeare," or any word of similar meaning, nowhere appears in the sonnets.

Whenever the author of the sonnets is discovered (and so far human ingenuity has not found him out), he will appear as the author on the face of some of the sonnets themselves. He was clearly a man fond of punning and of using anagrams and riddles. That much is evident from a cursory perusal of the sonnets. 'He was a lover of women, and very much a lover of one woman in particular, and he was a quick, impulsive, natural poet; he was a very warm friend and had very warm friends; he was a courtier, and he had a peculiar style and manner by which, in addition to what he says about himself in the sonnets, he may be detected. It is unfortunate that, as to Shakspeare, there is no poem, play or writing in existence, for our use by comparison, which we can be sure is his. Outside of the plays, if the plays were his, he left nothing to identify himself by, and his life story is so meager that thoughtful men and women are inclined to agree with Hogarth that there is no such thing as genius, and that genius is nothing but labor and diligence. Sir Isaac Newton declared that, if ever he had effected anything, it had been by patient thinking. The student of Elizabethan literature nowadays turns away from the esoteric criticism and transcendental analysis, the guesses, the possibilities and probabilities of the Shakespeare writers, and he or she reasons very much in the way that Mr. Morgan does in his *Shakespeare in Fact and in Criticism*, when he says: "Add to all these" (referring to his being a theater manager and general factotum) "that William Shakspeare was a butcher's apprentice and a student of the Stratford grammar school; that the curriculum at that grammar school consisted entirely of a venerable birch rod, Lily's Latin Paradigms, the criss cross row and the Church Catechism; that the graduate of this grammar school wrote the *Venus and Adonis* as the very first heir of his invention, and no wonder our brain reels when we try to ask ourselves who was this immortal anyhow, and who wrote the divine

page called his? Was this the William Shakspeare who, in silence, repeatedly allowed his name to be credited with the works of other men, and who encouraged the attributing of whatever was splendid or successful in literature to himself? A man who, in these days, could permit himself to become beneficiary to so fraudulent a transaction as was the *Passionate Pilgrim* affair of 1609, could not have long survived the moral effect of his act."

The real writer of the "Shake-speare" sonnets is yet to be discovered.

JOHN H. STOTSENBURG.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF SHAKSPERE.

ON the 26th day of April, 1564, the first-born son of John Shakspeare was christened William by a Catholic priest of Stratford-on-Avon. The day of the child's birth is uncertain. The father was a wool-stapler, a leather dealer and a butcher. Stratford was a filthy little town; several years before William was born John Shakspeare was fined for having accumulated a dunghill before his house; and when the infant was three months old, a violent plague broke out in consequence of sanitary neglect. William's father became a leading citizen from having married an heiress (?), though both husband and wife were absolutely illiterate. He held successively the offices of ale-taster, burgess, constable, chamberlain and high-bailiff, from 1557 to 1568. His name as entered on the records was spelled Shakspeyr and Shakysper.

There is no evidence that William ever went to school, but if he did the schooling did not extend beyond his thirteenth year. Tradition says he was apprenticed to a butcher and became expert in killing calves, but it is more likely that he worked with his father until he was eighteen years of age.

He appears to have been a wild boy, drinking beer, hunting conies and poaching on deer parks.

At eighteen years of age he was married to a woman of twenty-six, his name being entered on the register as Shagsper. In less than six months a female child was born.

At twenty-one he was the father of three children, two of them twins.

About this time, or soon after, he absconded to London to escape a criminal prosecution.

Halliwell-Phillipps, the latest and best biographer of Shakspeare, thinks that the young man may have followed Burbage's theatrical company to London after their first appearance at Stratford in 1587. Shakspeare was then twenty-three years of age, and tradition says that his first expedient was to wait at the door of the playhouse and hold horses, in which employment he soon hired assistants, so that when "Will Shakspeare" was summoned an urchin would answer, "I am Shakspeare's boy, sir." This tradition is generally discredited by Shakspeare's biographers, though originally related by Sir William Davenant, the dramatic poet, who was born in 1606.

Prior to 1587 John Shakspeare had been imprisoned for debt; on a writ to distrain his goods in 1586, the return was: Nothing to distrain.

In whatever capacity young Shakspeare began to be employed about the theater, he soon rose, and after a few years became part proprietor.

The first theater built in London, or even in England, was in 1576-7, by "James Burbage joyner." It was a little to the north of what is now called Holywell Lane, near Burbage's own estate, and was practically in the Fields. Burbage, the carpenter and leading actor, took a lease of the ground for twenty-one years. In August, 1577, the Privy Council of London forbade further performances at "The Theatre" until after Michaelmas.

Prior to the building of "The Theatre," public acting was chiefly out of doors, and players were fined, imprisoned and even put in the stocks. Shakspeare was never more than a subordinate actor. It has been supposed that the poet Spenser alluded to him in these lines, published in 1591:

"And he, the man whom Nature's self hath made
To mock herself and truth to imitate,
With kindly counter under mimic shades,
Our pleasant Willy, oh, is dead of late."

But Halliwell-Phillipps argues plausibly that Richard Tarlton, who died in 1588, was the person referred to. The soubriquet "Willy" is said to have been common at that time, and the comedian Tarlton used to recite a song which was afterward set to music and called "Tarlton's Willy."

By this time four or five theaters were in existence in London, and several of the plays attributed to Shakspeare had been performed.

3The earliest certain notice of Shakspeare as an actor is by Robert

Green, a dissipated play-writer, in a pamphlet entitled *A Groat's-worth of Wit*, written shortly before his death in 1592, as follows :

" There is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers that with his Tyger's heart, wrapt in a player's hide, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you ; and being an absolute Johannes factotum, is, in his owne conceyt, the onely Shake-scene in a countrie."

In the third part of *Henry VI.*, which was brought out early in 1592, is this line :

" O tiger's heart, wrapped in a woman's hide."

Besides the first, second and third parts of *Henry VI.*, other plays were performed as early as 1592, namely: *Titus Andronicus*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, and probably *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*. But none of these was yet printed or entered at Stationers' Hall, and they were all anonymous.

Between the years 1587 and 1592, says Halliwell-Phillipps, there is not a particle of evidence respecting Shakspeare's career.

In June, 1593, *Venus and Adonis* was published, with a formal dedication to the young Earl of Southampton, by " William Shakspeare ; " and a year later a scholarly poem entitle *Lucrece* was dedicated to the same young nobleman by the same " Shakespeare." But these two dedications are the only evidence that the actor was even acquainted with Southampton, to whom, says Halliwell-Phillipps, " the work was inscribed, apparently without permission."

Up to this time as many as nine plays had been performed, whose authorship no one appeared to claim, but which were afterward fathered by or attributed to " William Shakspeare."

In May, 1594, *Taming of the Shrew* was entered at Stationers' Hall, and then printed anonymously in June. *Titus Andronicus* was entered and is said to have been printed. If so, it was the first that was printed, but no copy now extant dates prior to 1600. The third edition was in 1611, still anonymous, like *Henry V.*, three editions, *Romeo and Juliet*, four editions, and several other Shakespearean plays.

After 1594 plays had to be licensed and entered at Stationers' Hall before they could be printed.

The earliest definite notice of Shakspeare's appearance on the stage, says Halliwell-Phillipps, is in two comedies acted before the Queen in December, 1594, at Greenwich Palace.

In 1595, Shakspeare is part owner of the Globe and Blackfriars theaters. *King John* is acted on the stage. *Loocrine*, by "W. S.," is printed and in possession of Shakspeare's company, but some critics think it was written by William Smith. *Henry VI.* is printed—that is to say, in two plays, entitled "First part of the Contention betwixt the Houses of York and Lancaster," and "Richard, Duke of York—Death of Henry VI.," both anonymous.

If we may trust the memorandum of a complaint by the "inhabitants of Southerk," dated July, 1596, Shakspeare is then living near Bear Garden. The names of eleven complainants are appended, the sixth being "Mr. Shaksper."

On the 22d of July, 1596, Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon dies, and is succeeded by his son Lord Hunsdon, as patron of the theatrical company to which Shakspeare belongs. *Romeo and Juliet* has a great run. "Taming of a Shrew," second edition, is printed anonymously.

On the 11th of August the actor's only son, Hamnet, is buried at Stratford, aged 11 years. There is no evidence that Shakspeare's family ever resided elsewhere.

In the College of Arms is preserved the draft of coat-armor to "John Shaksper," dated October 20, 1596; but it does not appear to have been issued.

Early in 1597 Shakspeare's company perform before the Queen at Whitehall, and in the summer make a tour through the country.

In the spring Shakspeare makes his first investment in real estate by the purchase of New Place, in the center of the town of Stratford, for £60.

In this year *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* are printed, all anonymous. *Richard II.* has been acted for some time with a scene deposing the King, and is countenanced by the Earl of Essex and his companions, but in the printed edition the entire deposition scene is omitted through fear of the Queen's displeasure.

Up to this time nearly half of the Shakespeare plays have been written or sketched, and most of them put upon the stage, six or seven being printed, but all anonymous.

Early in 1598 the name Shakespeare first appears on the title-page of a play, namely: "*A Pleasant Conceited Comedie, called Love's Labor's Lost.* As it was presented before her Highness this last Christmas. Newly corrected and augmented by W. Shakspeare." And later in the same year second editions of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* are printed with the name "William Shake-speare" (hyphen-

ated) on the title-pages. In *Richard II.* the obnoxious scene of deposing the king is omitted, as in the anonymous first edition. Essex and his companions are constant auditors at the Globe and Blackfriars when this play is performed.

And early in the year Essex has two plays performed at his house, attended by numerous lords, ladies and gentlemen.

The first appearance of Shakspeare's name as a writer of plays is followed by numerous political disturbances, caused more especially by the play of *Richard II.*

In this year (1598) Shakspeare makes the acquaintance of Ben Jonson, ten years his junior, whose first drama, *Every Man in his Humor*, said to have been rejected by another theatrical manager, is accepted and put upon the stage at Shakspeare's theater.

Francis Meres, in a chapter on poets, published in 1598, names the distinguished English poets in the following order: Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlowe and Chapman. And in tragedy he names the following: Lord Buckhurst; Doctor Leg, of Cambridge; Doctor Edes, of Oxford; Maister Edward Ferris, Marlowe, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker and Jonson. And he further says that Shakespeare is most excellent in comedy and tragedy for the stage, naming twelve of his plays.

Still further he says: "In mellifluous and hony-tongued Shakespeare witness his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred sonnets among his friends," etc.

The poet Barnfield also alludes to Shakespeare:

"Whose *Venus* and whose *Lucrece*, sweet and chaste,
Thy name in fame's immortal book have placed."

But Barnfield does not mention any play by Shakspeare.

In this year two editions of *Henry IV.* are printed, both anonymous. The Queen is said to have been pleased with the character of Sir John Falstaff, first introduced as Sir John Oldcastle, but changed out of respect to the memory of a martyred nobleman of the latter name.

In October of this year a Mr. Quiney writes a letter from London, addressed "To my loveinge good ffriend and countryman, Mr. Wm. Shackesper," asking for a loan of £30. It is the only letter ever discovered addressed to Shakspeare, and "it may admit of a doubt," says Halliwell-Phillipps, "that it was ever forwarded to the poet."

That "the poet" was now growing rich appears from the earliest notice of him in the capacity of householder, Feb. 4, 1598, being returned as the holder of ten quarters of corn in Chapel Street Ward, Stratford.

In 1599 the second part of *Henry IV.* is performed, but not printed. The Queen is said to have commanded the author to continue the story of Falstaff in another piece.

Henry V. is also brought out. In the prologue to act v. the Earl of Essex, then in Ireland, is alluded to. He was one of the most popular men in the kingdom.

During this year a bookseller prints a little volume of verses under the title of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, with the name of "Shakespeare" on the title-page. Several of the poems have been attributed to other writers.

The third edition of *Henry IV.* (first part) is printed this year with "Shakespeare's" name on the title-page. But *Romeo and Juliet*, second edition, is still anonymous.

Late in the year or early in 1600 is produced *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, in which the story of Falstaff is continued.

In 1600 the following plays are printed anonymously: First part of *Contention York and Lancaster*, second and third editions; *Richard, Duke of York*, *Death of Henry VI.*, second edition; *Henry V.* and *Titus Andronicus*. The printed plays accredited to Shakespeare are: *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Second Henry IV.* two editions; *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, two editions, and *Merchant of Venice*, two editions.

The song, "Come, live with me and be my love," published in the preceding year as Shakespeare's, now reappears in *England's Helicon* amended and enlarged, signed "Chr. Marlowe," who had been dead seven years. And the last stanza of the song, as published in 1599, entitled "Love's Answer," reappears in the *Helicon*, enlarged to six stanzas, headed "The Nymph's Reply to the Shepherd," and signed "Ignoto," who is credited with a score of similar songs in the *Helicon*. And among the poetic contributions to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, published as early as January, 1590, is a piece of twenty-four lines by "Ignoto."

The names of twenty-five contemporary poets are given in a publication this year — Spenser the first, Shakespeare the thirteenth and Barnfield the last.

Theaters have become so numerous and disorderly that most of them have been suppressed.

A few weeks after the performance of *Sir John Oldcastle* at the Somerset House, before Lord Hunsdon and some foreign ambassadors, by Shakspeare's company, "the poet" brings an action against one John Clayton to recover the sum of £7, and obtains a verdict.

In 1601 Shakspeare is undisturbed by the misfortunes of Southampton. The noble earl to whom, in 1593, he dedicated "the first heir of his invention," and again in 1594 his "untutored lines;" the "right honorable" friend to whom he said, "What I have done is yours; what I have to do is yours, being part in all I have, devoted yours;" the wealthy patron whose munificence is said to have enabled the rising actor to become part owner of a theater, thus leading him on to fortune; the distinguished but misguided nobleman, now adjudged guilty of treason, but not deemed worthy of the extreme penalty of the law, is in prison for his crime, with popular sympathy in his favor; but we hear no word or act of kindness from the ostensible author of the dedicated poems, nor is there the least evidence that the prisoner is visited by the "Bard of Avon."

"I count myself in nothing else so happy
As in a soul rememb'ring my good friends."

—*Richard II.*

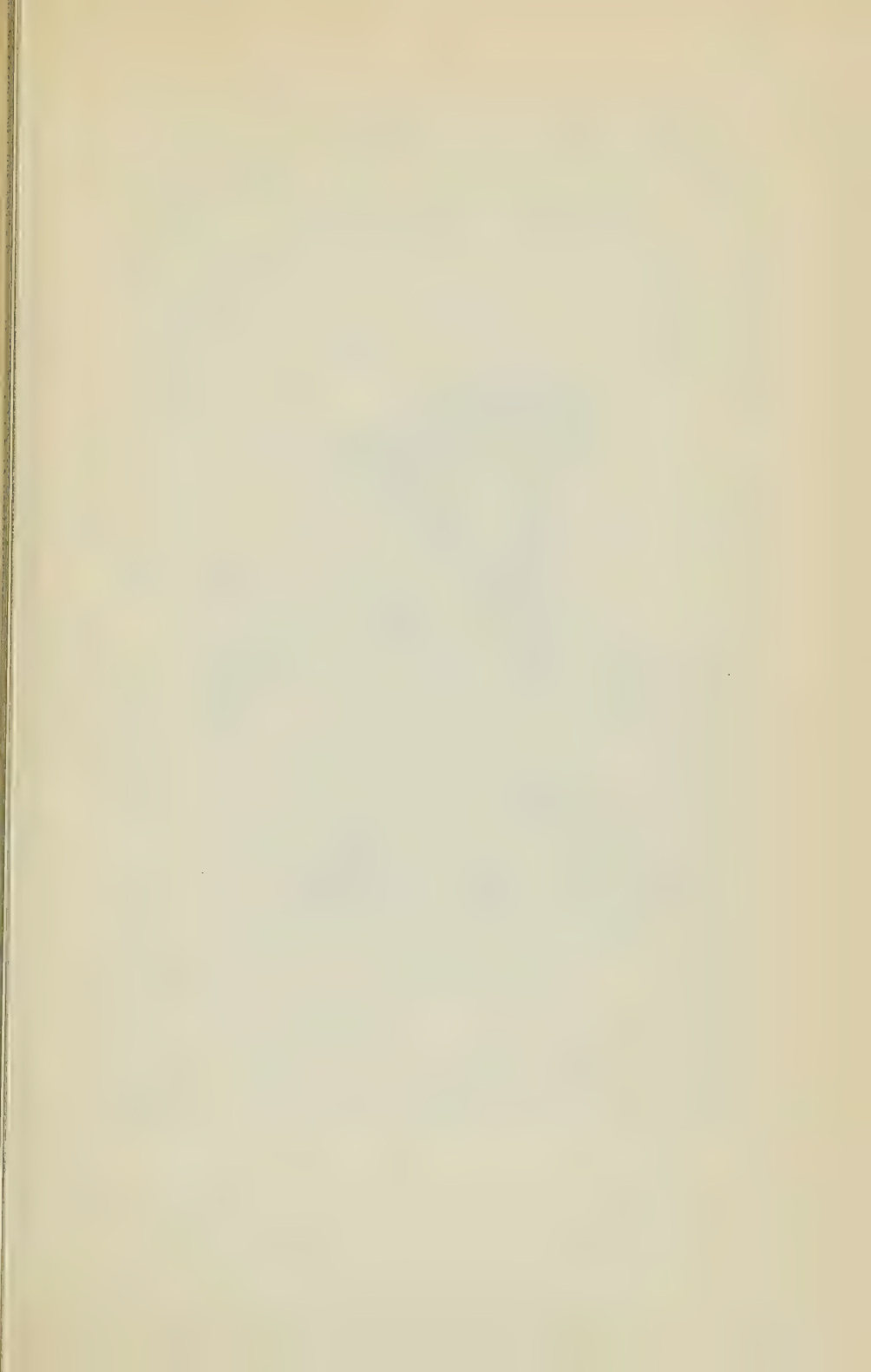
Some time this year a poem is published in which the obsequies of the Phoenix and the Turtle-dove are made subservient to the delineation of spiritual union. (See *Passionate Pilgrim*.) The ostensible author of the poem is "Shakespeare," and Halliwell-Phillipps says it is "the first and only time that Shakspeare comes forward in the avowed character of a philosophic writer."

Twelfth Night, by some considered the perfection of English comedy, is produced this year, but is not printed until 1623.

The acknowledged plays written in 1602 are *Richard II.*, third edition, *King Lear*, two editions, *Yorkshire Tragedy*, and *Henry IV.*, fifth edition. But *Henry V.*, third edition, is still anonymous.

In September John Shakspeare is buried at Stratford. His property and pretended coat of arms descend to William, who neglects to erect a monument to his father.

In 1603 Shakspeare, as second in a company of nine persons, receives a license from King James "to use and exercise the arte and faculty of playing comedies and tragedies," etc., "within their own usuall house called the Globe."





SIR NICHOLAS BACON.

(FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.)

And if a letter discovered by Collier in 1835, containing incidental allusion to Shakspeare about this time, is genuine, it appears that he applied for the office of Master of the Queen's Revels.

Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, is first printed this year.

Why did not Shakspeare notice Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603? Tradition says that she commanded him to write a play about Falstaff in love, which command was obeyed in the production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Tradition also says that when Shakspeare was playing the part of a King, her Majesty, as she crossed the stage, where lords and ladies in those times used to sit, dropped her glove, which the actor picked up and handed to her, saying impromptu :

“ And though now bent on this high embassy,
Yet stoop we to take up our cousin's glove.”

The inventor of this story did not know what even Shakspeare must have known, that kings do not go on embassies.

Chettle, who has praised Shakspeare's *Rape of Lucrece*, noticing that among the many tributes to the late Queen none comes from that poet, thus appeals to him :

“ Shepheard, remember our Elizabeth,
And sing *her* rape, done by that Tarquin death.”

About this time the celebrated club founded by Sir Walter Raleigh meets at the Mermaid tavern. Here Raleigh, Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Colton, Carew, Donne and others gather for social and convivial enjoyment, but there is no evidence that Shakspeare is one of its members.

In this year Ben Jonson's *Sejanus* is produced at the Blackfriars, Shakspeare playing a subordinate part.

In 1604 Shakspeare makes his last appearance on the stage. He, together with eight other actors, licensed to perform at the Globe, marches in the procession which graces the formal entry of King James into London, March 15. Each player is presented with four and a half yards of scarlet cloth, the usual allowance to players belonging to the royal household, and the company perform several times before the court.

A second edition of *Hamlet* is printed, much enlarged; also a fourth edition of *Henry IV*.

Some contemporary verses by Davies represent “our English Terrence, Mr. Will. Shakespeare,” as playing “kingly parts in sport,” and offending his new master, King James. But Davies

certainly knew that Bacon was a "concealed poet," and the story that King James wrote an amicable letter to Shakspeare is discredited by his American biographer, White.

A suit is brought by "Willielmo Shexpere" in the Stratford court against one Philip Rogers, to recover the value of malt sold and delivered, £1 15s 20d, and 2s loaned June 25, less a credit of 6s paid on account.

In August Shakspeare's company is ordered by the King to be in attendance at the Somerset House, on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish ambassador, but it does not appear that there was any stage performance.

In November and December the following plays are performed before the King by his Majesty's players: *The Moor of Venis*, *Merry Wives of Winsor* (on Sunday), *Mesur for Mesur*, and *The Plaie of Errors*. Under the head of "The Poets which mayde the plaies" no name is given for the first two, but the last two are credited to "Shaxberd."

Query: Was the actor "Shaxberd" one of "his Majesty's plaiers" on these occasions before King James?

As an actor, says Mr. White, Shakspeare "has gained but little distinction at much sacrifice of feeling."

Is not the "feeling" an imagination of the biographer? In 1582 the name of the Stratford bridegroom is "Shagsper;" in 1593 and 1594 it is signed to the dedication of poems "Shakespeare;" in 1596 it is recorded in a complaint by the inhabitants of Southwark as "Shaksper;" in 1598, as owner of corn at Stratford, the name is "Shakesper," and a letter is addressed to him as "Shacksper;" meanwhile, on the title-pages of the printed plays, beginning in 1598, it is first "Shakspeare" and subsequently "Shakespeare," sometimes with a hyphen; but as plaintiff in a petty suit in 1604 it is "Shexpere," and as the author of plays performed at court before the King it is "Shaxberd."

"My name be buried where my body is."—Sonnet 72.

In January, 1605, *Love's Labor's Lost* and *Henry V.* are performed before King James, name of the author not given. *Henry V.* has passed through two anonymous editions. *Love's Labor's Lost* was printed in 1598 and credited to "Shakspeare." In March *The Merchant of Venis* is played twice before the King—name of the author "Shaxberd."

Shakspere, in 1605, purchases the moiety of a lease of all the tithes of Stratford, Bishopton and Welcombe for £440.

By this time *King Lear* is produced, in which the account of the King's death is said to tally in many points with accounts privately circulated by the court physicians of the death of Queen Elizabeth.

The plays printed this year are *Richard III.*, fourth edition, *Hamlet*, third edition, and *London Prodigal*, all by "Shakespeare."

Actor Phillips leaves in his will, "To my fellowe, William Shakespeare, a thirty shillinges peece in goold."

No play is printed in 1606. The composition of *Macbeth* is generally assigned to this year, when its ostensible author is planting mulberry trees in Stratford.

Shakspere is said to have stood godfather to Sir William Davenant, born February, 1606, son of a tavern-keeper at Oxford, where the actor used to stop on his way from London to Stratford. The story goes that one day an old townsman, seeing Will running homeward in great haste to see his godfather, told him to be careful lest he took God's name in vain. But this story is discredited by White and Halliwell-Phillipps, who also scout the oft-repeated intimation that Davenant was the natural son of the great dramatist.

King Lear is first played for his Majesty's entertainment during the Christmas revels, 1605. But where is its ostensible author.

In 1607 *Julius Cæsar* is supposed to have been written, or at least begun, simultaneously with Bacon's *Julius and Augustus Cæsar*.

A play appears, under the initials "W. S.," entitled *The Puritan, or Widow of Watling Street*, and is in possession of Shakspere's company. "Taming of a Shrew," third edition, is printed anonymously.

On the 5th of June, Susanna, the eldest daughter of Shakspere, is married to Dr. John Hall, a physician of Stratford. On the 31st of December, Shakspere's brother, Edmund, a player of no distinction, is buried in Southwark.

In 1608 *Richard II.*, third and fourth editions, *King Lear*, first and second editions, *Henry IV.*, fifth edition, all by "Shakespeare," are printed, and *Henry V.*, third edition, anonymous.

The Merry Devil of Edmonton is printed under the names of Shakespeare and Rowley, and *The Yorkshire Tragedy* under the name of Shakespeare. Both are performed at the Globe by Shakspere's company.

An attempt to dislodge Burbage, Shakspere and their fellows from

the Blackfriars is made, but fails. Then an estimate of the property is made at £7,000, of which Shakspeare's share is £1,433. His income from this and the Globe property is reckoned about £400.

Antony and Cleopatra is entered this year at Stationers' Hall, but is not printed until 1623. The Soothsayer in the play is just such a character as Bacon describes in his *Natural History*, not published until after his death. Among other striking parallels is the manner of the death of the Soothsayer, as described by Bacon and in the play.

In August Shakspeare sues John Addenbroke, of Stratford, and gets a judgment of £6, with costs of £1 4s. The defendant being returned *non est inventus*, Shakspeare sues his bail, Thomas Hornby. Speaking of this and a former suit Mr. White says:

"The biographer of Shakspeare must record these facts, because the literary antiquaries have unearthed them. . . . We hunger and we receive these husks; we open our mouths and we break our teeth against these stones. . . . What have these to do with the life of him whom his friends delighted to call sweet and gentle? Could not these, at least, have been allowed to rest?"

The suit against Hornby, bail for the absconding debtor of Stratford, lasts till June, 1609.

The Blackfriars theater is still in possession of Shakspeare's company, and Shakspeare, with fifty-six others, is assessed six pence weekly for the poor in Southwark. But there is no evidence that he is in London.

Two editions of *Pericles* and two of *Troilus and Cressida* are printed in 1609, under the name of "Shakespeare," but the third edition of *Romeo and Juliet* is still anonymous.

Coriolanus is generally assigned to this year or the next, but it does not appear to have been heard of until its publication in the Folio of 1623.

Troilus and Cressida is first produced at court before the King and then printed, with the following preface by the printer:

"A never writer to an ever reader. Newes. Eternall reader, you have heere a play never stal'd with the stage, never clapper-clawed with the palmes of the vulgar, and yet passing full of the palme comicall. . . . This author's commedies are so fram'd to the life that they serve for the most common commentaries of all the actions of our lives. . . . So much and such savord salt of witte is in his commedies that they seem (for their height of pleasure) to be borne in that sea that first brought forth Venus. Amongst them all there is none more witty than this.

... "Believe this, that when hee is gone and his commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them and set up a new English inquisition. Take this for a warning, and at the peril of your pleasures losse and judgments, refuse not, nor like this the lesse for not being sullied with the smoaky breath of the multitude."

This is the printer's preface; on the title-page appears the name "William Shakespeare." Soon after it is printed it finds its way to the theater, and shortly after, in the same year, a second edition is issued, from the same type, only suppressing the preface and announcing the play on the title-page: "As it was acted by the King's Majesty's servants at the Globe. Written by William Shakespeare."

Its style was too lofty and abstruse to be popular, and it had but a short run. Nor is it often performed now.

On the 20th of May, 1609, one Thomas Thorpe enters and publishes "Shake-speare's Sonnets, never before imprinted," a quarto of forty pages, price 5*d.*, dedicated "To the onlie begetter of these insuing Sonnets, Mr. W. H.," by "T. T." Thomas Thorpe, the publisher, answers to "T. T.," but who was "Mr. W. H." ? William Herbert, an indifferent poet, was sixteen years younger than Shakspeare, and his biographers are unwilling to accept him as the "onlie begetter" of the sonnets. They, therefore, say that the mystery of the sonnets is insoluble, the initials "W. H." standing for some person unknown.

But if Francis Bacon wrote the sonnets, there is nothing incompatible with the theory that they were addressed to the Earl of Essex and his bride just before their marriage in 1590. In 1609, when the sonnets were printed entire, Essex had been dead eight years and his widow was remarried.

In 1610 Shakspeare purchased twenty acres of pasture land at Stratford, making him now the owner of 127 acres.

No play by "Shakespeare" is printed this year.

The Troublesome Reign of King John is printed in 1611, with "W. S." on the title-page, but not the *King John* first mentioned by Meres in 1598 and first printed in the Folio of 1623.

Pericles, third edition, and *Hamlet*, fourth edition, are printed in 1611, both by Shakespeare. But *Titus Andronicus*, third edition, is still anonymous; and so is *Romeo and Juliet*, fourth edition; but at last a fifth edition follows by "Shakespeare."

Macbeth is acted at the Globe in April, *Winter's Tale* in May, *Cymbeline* some time during the year, and *The Tempest* at Whitehall

in November. Not more than three plays remain to be written, possibly only one — *Henry VIII.*

In 1612 Shakspeare enters upon a chancery suit for the protection of his interest in the tithes of Stratford and neighboring parishes. The bill shows his receipts from that source to be £60 yearly.

The ordinance of the burgesses of Stratford, passed in 1602, forbidding the exhibition of plays of any kind in the chamber, in the guild hall, or any other part of the house or court, is made more stringent in 1612.

Richard III., fifth edition, is printed, also a third edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, consisting of "Certain amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis." These are announced as the work of Shakspeare; and to these are "newly added two love epistles, the first from Paris to Helen, and Helen's answer back again to Paris." The latter poems were written by Thomas Heywood and published in 1609.

It is pretty certain that *Othello*, *Henry VIII.* and *Timon of Athens* had been begun by this time and partially completed. But nothing is known of *Timon of Athens* until it is printed in the Folio of 1623.

In March, 1613, Shakspeare purchases a house in the Blackfriars, and this is the last transaction in which he is known to have been concerned in London. Having to execute a mortgage on the property jointly with other trustees, this is the way he signed his name :

W^m Shakspeare

And for some unaccountable reason he signed a duplicate copy of the deed from Henry Walker to himself, writing his name thus :

*William
Shakspeare*

Henry VIII. is performed at the Globe June 30 in the presence (if not with the assistance) of Ben Jonson. But it is not even presumed that Shakspeare is there. And nine days later the Globe theater is burned. *Henry VIII.* was never entered or printed until it appeared in the Folio of 1623.

In 1604 Bacon, from the House of Commons, presented to King James a petition of grievances, accompanied by a speech, touching

purveyors, in which he alluded to the fact that similar grievances had existed in the reign of Henry VIII. In the play produced in 1613, Queen Katherine presents to King Henry a like petition of grievances, and a comparison of the speech of Bacon with the second scene of the first act shows a multitude of parallels.

Henry IV., sixth edition, is printed.

Shakspere, in 1614, opposes a project for inclosing some common lands near Stratford. One of the movers agrees to make good any damage which "William Shackespeare" (so spelled seven times in the written instrument) may receive by the proposed inclosure.

In July John Combe, of Stratford, dies, bequeathing to Shakspere £5. It is said that, at the request of the deceased, and while living, Shakspere "wright" this epitaph:

"Ten in the hundred lies here ingraved;
'Tis a hundred to ten his soul is not saved;
If any one asks 'Who lies in this tomb?'
Ho! ho! quoth the Devil, 'tis my John a Combe."

In the Warwickshire dialect "a combe" means "has come."

After Combe's death Shakspere is said to have wri(gh)ttten a better epitaph, which he signed "W. Shak.," but his admirers do not like to admit the authenticity of either.

Such doggerel verses to construct
He may have had the wit;
But ten to one the manuscript
He never could have "wright."

In November Shakspere visits London, probably about the business of the inclosure of Welcombe. His cousin Green is already there and makes the following memorandum Nov. 17:

"My cosen Shakspear comyng yesterday to Town, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they meant to enclose no further than Gospell Bush."

Another memorandum, Dec. 23, says:

"Letters wrytten, one to Mr. Manyring, another to Mr. Shakspear."

In Chamberlain's account of Stratford there appears in this year a charge for "on quart of sack and on quart of clarett wine given to a preacher at New Place," Shakspere's house.

Richard II., fifth edition, appears in 1615. And there is no noted event in this year regarding Shakspere. The inclosure of Welcombe is not settled in his life-time.

On the 11th of February, 1616, his daughter Judith is married to

Thomas Quiney, a vintner of Stratford, the son of Richard Quiney, who, in 1598, wrote a letter from London to Wm. Shakspeare, at Stratford, asking for a loan of £30.

Judith was absolutely illiterate. In 1611 she witnessed two instruments by making her mark.

On the 23d of April, 1616, Shakspeare dies. In the diary of Mr. Ward, vicar of Stratford, occurs this entry :

"Shakspeare, Drayton and Ben Jonson drank too hard, for Shakspeare died of a fever then contracted."

In his will, executed March 25, 1616, his name is twice written Shackspeare ; but the signatures to the three sheets are as follows:

Mr. Bacon.
Shakspeare

William. Shakspeare

By me William Shakspeare

Is it possible to make the spelling of the name in these three scrawls anything but Shakspeare ? And in the absence of any other writing than these five autographs, each one very different from the others, is it credible that he was in the habit of writing ? Notice how he writes "By me" prefixed to the last signature. Is it not more rational to believe that he traced the forms from copies set for him ? If Francis Bacon, now Attorney-General and Privy Counselor, had been using Shakspeare's name as a mask, had he not an imperative motive for preventing a disclosure of the secret ? And what would be a more certain disclosure than the fact that Shakspeare could not write ?

The funeral charges at Stratford included the following item :

"For the bell and pall for Mr. Shaxper's daughter viij. d."

Seven years after his death a bust is first noticed on Shakspeare's monument, and in the same year is published the first complete edition of the plays of "William Shakespeare," thirty-six in number,

omitting *Pericles*. Eighteen of the plays in the Folio of 1623 were never before printed; three more only as sketches before; and several were never before heard of.

In this Folio Mr. Donnelly has discovered a cipher which is declared by eminent mathematicians to be a certainty.

WM. HENRY BURR.

Book Reviews.

FRANCIS BACON AND HIS SECRET SOCIETY. An Attempt to Collect and Unite the Lost Links of a Long and Strong Chain. By MRS. HENRY POTT. With 27 full-page plates. Chicago: F. J. Schulte & Co. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Post 8vo, 421 pages. \$2.00.

This volume, the latest contribution to the literature of the Bacon-Shakspere controversy, although issued only recently, has been very freely commented on by American critics. The following scholarly review, which appeared in the *Chicago Times*, is so comprehensive that it was deemed wise to insert it here in place of one which had been prepared by the editor of *BACONIANA*. It may be added that Mrs. Pott's book has, in the main, met with extremely fair treatment at the hands of reviewers in America,—so favorable, in fact, were the reviews, as a whole, that Baconians may feel justified in the belief that it is no longer fashionable to scoff at their theory or to belittle their investigations—at least in America. How the book will be received in England cannot, of course, be foretold:

“When Miss Delia Bacon's articles, claiming for Bacon what the world had supposed was written by Shakspere, were printed in *Putnam's Magazine* nearly forty years ago, the world was considerably startled from its propriety of demeanor for a time, but settled down with a kind of superior smile, saying, in substance, this is all very entertaining, no doubt, but nobody can take it seriously, of course. It will be ‘a nine days' wonder’ and then disappear. But it has been very far from taking that course. New champions of the Baconian theory have sprung up, in unexpected quarters sometimes, and new light has been thrown on the question from various sources. The adherents to the Shakspere authorship, from an attitude of surprise that anybody could entertain such a notion as that anybody else than Shakspere the actor could possibly have written the plays, have been placed on the

defensive, and have come to show a great deal of temper about it. This latter seems a very curious attitude. Of course, if the plays were written by Shakspeare, it is hard that his right to them should be questioned after the lapse of so much time. But, on the other hand, if Bacon did write them, is it not quite as hard that he should be thrust aside and robbed of his credit for three hundred years by anybody, but especially by a man who, as it would seem, did not know enough to spell his own name twice alike? Besides, what possible reason is there for showing temper over it at this day? In either event the sublime achievements remain in English literature.

"It has been said that to suppose Bacon wrote the plays besides the other works he is known to have done is incredible—that no one man had the time, even if he had the intellectual ability, to do it all. But in reply to this it has been said that if the question were a new one, uncomplicated with any traditions or history or foregone conclusions of any kind, this would be no more incredible than the other supposition that the immortal poetry was written by a man who had never learned anything, for the simple reason that he had never had any opportunity to learn, who could scarcely write his own name, and who allowed his daughter to grow up not knowing one letter from another. And, really, when one comes to think of it, this latter is difficult of belief. Bacon was always extraordinary. He went to the university at Cambridge at twelve years of age, and before he was fifteen had exhausted the resources of his university, and left in disgust because, as he said, the most that was to be gathered there was 'words, not matter.'

"But the supporters of the Baconian theory have felt the difficulty in giving one man so much to do, and have met it in several ways. Appleton Morgan some years ago suggested that the plays might be the joint work of a small 'syndicate,' as it might be called now, of gifted men, including Raleigh, Southampton and others, but with Bacon always chief, and gave some very plausible reasons for the supposition. Some time later Mrs. Henry Pott published Bacon's *Promus*, or sheets of what seems to have been a note-book in which were roughly set down thoughts afterward worked into the plays. The 'Shaksperites,' as one may call them, rather 'fought shy' of this, but claimed, on the whole, that it proved nothing. Mr. Donnelly made a great commotion by the announcement of his discovery of a cipher in the plays, but the

result of his book, when it came, was not commensurate with the advertising. Since then not much has been said on the subject.

"Now, however, the controversy is reopened by Mrs. Pott, who has written an elaborate work with the title, *Francis Bacon and His Secret Society*, which F. J. Schulte & Co., Chicago, have just published in a closely printed volume of 421 pages. She does not claim to do more than outline and suggest, but in reality she presents a very elaborate argument, which readers must follow closely and without 'skipping' if they would understand her position and her reasons for it. The course of this argument is something like the following: There has always been a mystery about the life, aims and work of Bacon. His writings—acknowledged—are not voluminous, but his papers abound in ambiguous and enigmatic statements. He has been alleged to have had some connection with so many works. His life appears full of contradictions, 'that there is hardly an opinion expressed concerning him by one "great authority" which is not absolutely contradicted by one equally great.' He distinctly stated that the ignorance of his time was gross, enumerating more than forty different departments in which knowledge was deficient, and this nobody has denied, though we are asked to believe in an outburst of genius all over the world in that age. Bacon resolved as early as at fifteen on a reformation of knowledge, and the author's main position is thus stated by her: 'It is manifestly impossible that any one man, however gigantic his power, could have performed, single-handed, all we believe to have been done and written by Francis Bacon. But many entries in his private notes, many hints in his letters and acknowledged works, indicate his faith in the efficacy of united efforts, and that, besides the mystery which surrounded himself, there was also a mystery concerning many of his nearest relations and friends, who seem to have worked for the same ends as he did, and perfectly to have understood the ambiguous language in which he expressed himself. Secret societies were common in the middle ages, and Bacon, we believe, was the center of a secret league for the advancement of learning. This revival of learning was the "New Birth of Time"—the "Renaissance." Mrs. Pott believes Bacon set about the formation of this league about the time he left Cambridge, and that his brother Anthony, two years older than himself and well-nigh as wonderfully gifted, though not as profoundly learned, was his chief associate. Anthony spent a large part of his life on the continent, Mrs. Pott thinks, about the affairs of this

league. Preserved in Lambeth Palace, she says, there are sixteen large folio volumes of letters written by him which have never been printed—probably never examined. And when one reads this statement one wonders that, since Mrs. Pott has shown amazing industry in other directions, she has not herself examined them or given in this book some clear reason for not doing so, especially as she seems confident that, when examined, these letters will strongly sustain the position she takes in this book.

“ She further takes the ground that the secret society was none other than the famous Rosicrucian brotherhood, whose purpose was ‘ a universal reformation of the whole wide world,’ and whose ‘ very constitution and mode of procedure seem to be the result of his own scheme or “ method.” ’ She believes further that ‘ no sharply-defined line could be drawn between the method and objects of the Rosicrucians and those of the Freemasons,’ but she thinks they disagreed and separated afterward, and does not seem to have much regard for Masonry in these days. In support of these positions she presents a great array of testimony of many kinds. Among this mass is conspicuous the curious fact that the peculiar typography, including the errors tabulated from the Shakespeare folio of 1623, exist throughout the whole circle of Baconian (or Rosicrucian) publications of a certain period. These, with all sorts of cryptographic devices, the water-marks in the paper used, even the tooling of the binding and other marks, she believes to have been secret means of communication, and are traceable, with modifications to suit the exigencies of modern printing, from the Baconian period to the present time, but had no existence before that time, nor in any other books then.

“ But it is impossible here to more than thus indicate the general purpose of the book. One might add that not a little attention is given to the character, ability and gifts of Bacon’s father, and Mrs. Pott maintains that no one can understand the son without knowledge of the father. But there can be here only a hint of the amazing patience and labor given to the preparation. There are twenty-seven pages of outline reproductions of hundreds of water-marks, and the same number of pages are taken up in brief expositions of how he was esteemed—for and against—by eminent authorities, every estimate, good or bad, being flatly contradicted by some other. Mrs. Pott does not argue the mere authorship of the plays at all. She assumes that as part of the larger position she

takes as to his agency in the revival of learning. But she does not assume to prove anything for anybody else. She only frankly states her own conclusions, gives her reasons for them, and urges the most searching investigation, being very far from admitting that the last word has been said or all found out that can be known. She insists that the subject matter is not folly, nor in any wise to be 'whistled down the wind,' and asks only for the fullest and fairest investigation. In any event she has written a book of curious interest, strongly put together, free from temper or acrimonious feeling of any kind. It will strongly appeal to all whose interest has heretofore been enlisted in the Shakspeare-Bacon controversy."

OUR ENGLISH HOMER; or, Shakespeare Historically Considered.
By Thomas W. White, M. A. 12mo, xv, 297 pp. London:
Sampson, Low, Marston & Co.

No better idea can be given of the scope and nature of this book than by quoting the author's own summary from the last chapter :

The issue raised and argued in the foregoing pages is the origin of those works, plays and poems which go under the name of Shakespeare; an issue which, so far as the plays are concerned, divides itself into two branches:

I. Are they original compositions?

II. Who were (or was) the authors (or author)?

In endeavoring to answer these questions we have shown:

1. That English literature, when the plays appeared, was extensively tinctured with classical learning.

2. That the drama, which had just come into fashion, was formed on classical models.

3. That the characteristics of the plays show that they were written by learned men.

4. That, so far, however, from being original, their originals are to be found, respectively, in the Greek, Roman, Spanish and Italian drama.

5. That the incidence of their application does not reveal the author.

6. That William Shakspeare's literary character, as gathered from contemporary opinion, was not such as became the author of the plays.

7. That his personal character was consistent with that of a literary impostor whose wealth had enabled him to make use of needy scholars.

8. That such scholars were numerous and their necessities pressing.

9. That, in fact, more than six such scholars employed by him to write plays were named or are referred to by a contemporary in 1592.

10. That another contemporary asserted, in 1589, that the author of *Hamlet* was a lawyer, and that, while Shakspeare was none, Francis Bacon was a poet of distinguished learning and genius, and the only lawyer of the time likely to engage in such an employment, as he was the only one capable of writing *Hamlet*.

11. That Robert Greene, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Nash, George Peele, Samuel Daniel, Thomas Lodge, George Chapman and Francis Bacon were respectively the authors of *Love's Labor's Lost*, and *The Comedy of Errors*, the second and third parts of *Henry VI.* and *Richard III.*, *A Winter's Tale*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labor Won (As You Like It)*, *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* and *Hamlet*.

12. That, in consequence of the great favor with which *Hamlet* was received in or before 1589, Shakspeare engaged Francis Bacon, under a promise of secrecy, to revise the plays he had obtained or should obtain from other authors; and that Robert Greene and others ascribed the revision to Shakspeare himself, and therefore taunted him with pretending he could "bombast out a blank verse as well as the best of them."

13. That as Bacon's composition of *Hamlet* is proved by the parallel passage found in his acknowledged works, so his revision of the other plays, excepting always *Titus Andronicus*, *Love's Labors Lost*, and the *Comedy of Errors*, is proved not only by parallel passages, but by the presence of his tone of thought, mode of illustration and personal experience; and that *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*, *Timon of Athens* and *Henry VIII.* were also entirely his composition.

14. That the best pieces in the series are reproductions of more archaic plays; but that, so far as English beauties are concerned, Francis Bacon, with some assistance from Samuel Daniel, is the genius of Shakspeare.

15. The Sonnets of Shakspeare we find to be the production of Anthony and Francis Bacon and some of the friends of Francis, and *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* of Christopher Marlowe.

In presenting his arguments in substantiation of the propositions thus set forth, Mr. White shows much scholarship and great ability, although the reader will have the conclusion forced upon him that in places the work was rather hastily done, and that Mr. White's poetic judgment on the plays is often rash. The book deserves more extended notice than can be given it in this number of *BACONIANA*, and it will be again referred to. Baconians everywhere, although they will differ with Mr. White in many particulars, will welcome his book as a valuable edition to the literature of the great controversy, and the volume will stimulate investigation and study and heighten the interest of the thoughtful.

F. J. S.

Correspondence.

BACONIAN DISCUSSIONS AT THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1892.

Among the many social and literary clubs of the American capital, and they appear to be as numerous as are the streets of the city, is the more recent organization, quite exclusive in its character and *clientele*, known as the Pinta Club. Its formation was designed more especially for the entertainment of those who find a home at the Elsmere, a private and fashionable family hotel, and among its members are a number of well-known Congressmen, and men prominent in civil and scientific professions.

The doors of the club are opened on alternate Saturday evenings, when members may admit, by cards of invitation, others who, by voice or pen, are thought to be able to contribute to the general interest of all. For the past month or two these friends have had under consideration the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, and the discussion has developed a lively interest.

Scores of intelligent ladies and gentlemen, who heretofore never gave the subject a moment's thoughtful consideration, are now seriously investigating the question. Though an occupant of the house and not known to have any opinion on this much mooted point, I have, nevertheless, been a constant attendant, in person or by proxy, at the several gatherings, and have exercised my inclination to make a few private notes, some of which may possibly hereafter find public expression. And though what is here said is set down in freedom, there is an entire absence of all taint of malice. No thought of this exists in my mind, which should commend what is said, other things being equal, rather than to detract from it.

Last Saturday evening's meeting was the third of the series, and the spacious hall of the Elsmere, as on former occasions, was thronged by a cultured audience. As once before, Senator Palmer, of Illinois, presided. After some pleasant music and the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, General Mussey began the argument. His time was consumed by a pleasant but irrelevant talk, having no reference to the subject in hand, which some were uncharitable enough to say was a confession of the weakness of his side.

Miss Richards, a very intelligent lady, and who left a pleasing impression, offered in her remarks the first bit of evidence of the

evening in a brief *résumé* of Shakspeare's life, character and circumstances, his failure to claim the plays, etc., the unaccountable ignorance of his daughter Judith, who could not read at the age of twenty-seven, and in a telling selection of extracts from Bacon's *Promus*, which were duplicated in the plays of Shakspeare.

Governor Boutwell, full of years and experience, being called upon, said he could not say anything in the allotted time, but would take a subsequent occasion to reply to Mr. Donnelly's *Cryptogram*. He had at the first meeting had his say in a long paper, and had another which he would be happy to inflict upon them hereafter. He then proceeded to prove Shakspeare to be the author of the plays by violently and unhistorically denouncing Bacon à la prosecuting attorney. I would give a crown to have had Mr. Donnelly present and allowed to occupy just half the time of Judge Boutwell in replying to the latter's statements.

Miss Pierce refrained from expressing any decided opinion as to who wrote the works, thinking this matter immaterial, but advised a more studious application of the plays for their intrinsic worth, for their imagination, wit, humor, etc., and their insight into human life.

Doctor Croffut replied in a kindred spirit to the pleasantries of General Mussey. He maintained that the basis of several of the plays was to be found in *Plautus* and *Lucian*, which, at that time, were untranslated. It was impossible, he said, that the author of the plays should cease to write when only forty years old, and with lots of leisure on his hands. Doctor Croffut also gave reasons why Bacon should keep the fact of his writing the plays a secret, and emphasized the world's indebtedness to Bacon for the intellectual processes he established, which led to the opening of the door to the inventor.

Mr. McCreery established himself as a humorist of the first degree. It is impossible to reproduce his speech, or to give a description of it. It was a happy combination of sarcasm, ridicule, wit, humor, sense and nonsense, replete with homely illustrations, pertinent hits and pat allusions, and yet pervaded with a vein of argument as irresistible as it was clever and effective. Professor Atwater followed in an extended speech, which contained the best Shakspearean argument of the evening's debate. He alluded to the *Promus* as a collection of proverbs which, doubtless, at the time, were public property, as they are now, and Shakspeare had the sense to utilize them. He referred to the first mention made of

Shakspeare as an actor, by Robert Greene, just three hundred years ago, and to Chettle's subsequent disclaimer; to Shakspeare's ability to hire any work translated that he might want to use; to the dedication of *Adonis* to the Earl of Southampton; the poems published as Shakspeare's in 1599, the larger number of which were written by other parties; to his sonnets, published in 1609, never before imprinted, which he (Mr. Atwater) thought must be Shakespeare's, as no one ever claimed them in his lifetime; to the opinion his fellow-actors had of him as an actor and as a man, also, Ben Jonson's opinion, etc. Professor Atwater acquitted himself well, and evidently had the sympathy of the majority of the audience.

Mr. Bacon was the last speaker. He replied to the position taken by the honored chairman, Senator Palmer, at the last meeting, who claimed that Lord Bacon, a profound lawyer, could not have written *The Merchant of Venice* because of its evident bad law. Mr. Bacon quoted a number of authorities to show the extent and accuracy of the law scattered throughout the Shakespeare plays. With reference to this play, he showed that Lord Bacon, when Attorney-General, in a memorial for the King's speech, on a certain occasion which he specified, described a court of chancery, which contains numerous repetitions of the doctrines and metaphors, expressions, etc., found in *The Merchant of Venice*, and queried how two writers, one alleged to be only a dramatic poet, and the other a gifted philosopher and an all-around man, should thus employ identical utterances in describing similar incidents. Mr. Bacon is an earnest, emphatic speaker, well informed, and is evidently impressed with the verity of his position and convictions.

These discussions have led many to open their eyes to the fact that there is more than a reasonable doubt as to the real personality behind the Shakespeare plays, and an interest has been awakened that will necessarily increase as time goes on, which is, doubtless, the desired object of both sides.

Miscellany.

JEFFERSON TO DONNELLY.

Joseph Jefferson concluded a recent address on the dramatic art, delivered before the students of Yale College, with the following verses. (The "respected member of the bar and state" is Ignatius Donnelly):

"Respected member of the bar and state,
In law and literature profoundly great;
As you have thrust at an immortal name,
I claim the right of parrying the same:
For, though I'm neither skilled in law nor science,
The gantlet you've thrown down in bold defiance
(Espousing Bacon's cause armed cap-a-pie)
I here take up to have a tilt with thee.
The question's this, if I am not mistaken,
'Did Shakespeare, or did Francis Bacon,
Inspired by genius, and by learning, too,
Compose the wondrous works we have in view?'
The scholar Bacon was a man of knowledge,
But inspiration isn't taught at college.
With all the varied gifts in Will's possession
The wondering world asks, 'What was his profession?'
He must have been a lawyer, says the lawyer;
He surely was a sawyer, says the sawyer;
The druggist says, of course he was a chemist;
The skilled mechanic dubs him a machinist;
The thoughtful sage declares him but a thinker,
And every tinman swears he was a tinker.
And so he's claimed by every trade and factor —
Your pardon, gentlemen, he was an actor.

And oh, my comrades, brothers all in art,
Permit me just one moment to depart
From this my subject, urging you some day
To seek this sacred spot and humbly pray
That Shakespeare's rage toward us will kindly soften,
Because, you know, we've murdered him so often.
I ask this for myself, a poor comedian;
What should I do had I been a tragedian?
I could pile up a lot of other stuff,
But I have taxed you patience quite enough;
In turning o'er the matter in my mind
This is the plain solution that I find:

It surely is — 'whome'er the cap may fit' —
Conceded that these wondrous plays were writ.
So if my Shakespeare's not the very same,
It must have been another of that name."

A BACON SOCIETY FOR AMERICA.

A Bacon Society, similar to the Bacon Society of London, and to coöperate with it, is about to be organized. A constitution is now being prepared, and will be submitted at a meeting to be called at an early day. At the suggestion of Mr. Donnelly, the headquarters of the society will be located in Chicago, at least until a permanent organization can be perfected. The membership dues will be nominal, to cover printing, postage, etc.—the Chicago membership to take upon themselves all local expenses. It is earnestly hoped that all Baconians everywhere will send in their names at once. For the present all communications relative to this matter may be addressed to the editor of *BACONIANA*.

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

It is intended to give in each number of *BACONIANA* two or more pertinent illustrations. In this number we are enabled, through the kindness of Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, to reproduce from a rare engraving a portrait of Lady Anne Bacon, and also, through the kindness of Mr. W. F. C. Wigston, a portrait of Sir Nicholas Bacon. Thus we begin our series of pictures with the portraits of Francis Bacon's parents, and in future numbers will be included a variety of illustrations of great interest to Baconians.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and a distinguished lawyer and statesman, descended from an ancient and honorable family in Suffolk. He was the second son of Robert Bacon, Esq., of Drinkstone, by Isabel, the daughter of John Gage, of Pakenham, and was born in 1510, at Chislehurst, in Kent. His academical education he received at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which he afterward became a very considerable benefactor; here he passed through the usual courses of study with great reputation, and as in those days no education was thought complete without the polish of foreign travel, he visited France and some other parts of the continent. On his return he studied the law in Gray's Inn, and rose to such distinction as to be noticed by the reigning monarch, Henry VIII., who, on the dissolution of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, gave him a grant of the manors of Redgrave, Bottesdale and Gillingham, with the park of Redgrave, etc., which last he made his seat. He was also promoted to the honorable and lucrative office of attorney in the Court of Wards. In Edward VI.'s reign he was elected treasurer of Gray's Inn.

Although known to be an adherent to the Reformed religion, he conducted himself with so much prudence and moderation as to escape the persecutions in Queen Mary's reign. On the accession of Elizabeth, to whom his character and services were well known, the great seal of England was taken from Heath, Archbishop of York, and given to Mr. Bacon, with the title of Lord Keeper, and the honor of knighthood. Her majesty also called him into her privy council, and was much swayed by his advice, particularly in the settlement of the Reformed religion, a measure which required that consummate prudence which distinguished Sir Nicholas. It was always his object to avoid precipitation in public matters; and a maxim he often repeated was, "Let us stay a little that we may have done the sooner."

Sir Nicholas retained his high office and high character for more than twenty years, and died, universally regretted, of a sudden illness, Feb. 20, 1579. His death is said to have been occasioned by his being exposed to a cold air in sultry weather; but in February it cannot be supposed that the air should be sultry; and as Sir Nicholas was very corpulent, the suddenness of his death may be more naturally referred to one of those attacks to which corpulent persons are subject. He was interred in St. Paul's cathedral under a sumptuous monument erected by himself, and with an inscription from the pen of the celebrated Buchanan.

He left no printed work behind him, but several of his MSS. are still extant on legal and political subjects.

Sir Nicholas Bacon's first wife was Jane, daughter of William Fernley, of West Creting, in Suffolk; and his second, who survived him, was Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. Of Lady Anne, who was the mother of Francis Bacon, an interesting volume might be written, and we hope in the near future to devote much space to her life and character.